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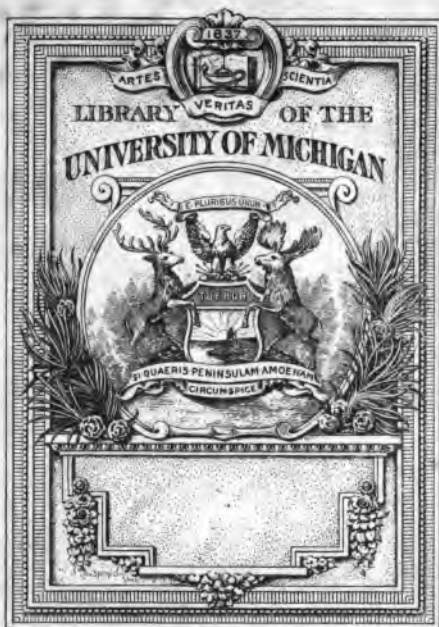
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OF THE
USE and ABUSE

OF
PARLIAMENTS;

In Two

Historical DISCOURSES,

VIZ.

I. A General View of Government in *Europe*.

II. A Detection of the Parliaments of *England*,

from the YEAR 1660.

In TWO VOLUMES.

By James Ralph (London)

ENGLAND can never be Undone but by a PARLIAMENT.

A Maxim of the great Lord BURLEIGH's.

V O L. II.

L O N D O N:

Printed in the Year, 1744.

The following information was obtained from the records of the [redacted] Department of the Army, Office of the Adjutant General, at [redacted], Washington, D.C., dated [redacted].

[The remainder of the page contains extremely faint, illegible text.]

S E C T. VIII.
OF THE
P A R L I A M E N T S
OF
King G E O R G E II.

N O Prince was ever usher'd to the *English* Throne with more ^{1727.} sincere or universal Acclamations, than our present most gracious Sovereign; which demonstrated, that *Jacobitism* was at an End, that the Hopes of the Pretender were blasted, and that the Protestant Succession needed no other Guarantee than the Affections of the People.

His Majesty had no sooner taken Possession of the Throne, but he declar'd in Council, *he would cultivate all the Alliances enter'd into by the late King*: And in his
VOL. II. * Z 2 first

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first Speech to both Houses, which were extraordinarily Assembled, June 27, we find his Majesty declaring it to be his fixed Resolution, by all possible Means to merit the Love and Affection of his People, which, said He, I shall always look upon as the best Support of my Crown.

His Majesty likewise, was pleas'd to declare, That it should be his constant Care to preserve the Constitution of this Kingdom inviolable, in all its Parts, and to secure to all his Subjects, the full Enjoyment of their Civil and Religious Rights.

He then spoke of the happy Effects of the Vigour and Resolution, which was exerted in the last Session of Parliament, for maintaining the TRANQUILITY and BALANCE OF EUROPE, and declar'd, the strict Union and Harmony which had hitherto subsisted among the Allies of the Treaty of Hanover, had chiefly contributed to the near Prospect of a general Peace.

His Majesty then talk'd about lessening the Public Expence, as soon as the Circumstances of Affairs would permit; signify'd, That he had already given Orders for sending
ing

ing back some Regiments to Ireland, and that he would proceed to reduce his Forces, both by Sea and Land, as soon as it could be done with Safety to the Common Cause.

He then spoke of the Civil List, after a handsome Introduction, as follows: *I am persuaded, THAT THE EXPERIENCE OF PASS'D TIMES, and a due Regard to the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, will prevail upon you to give me this FIRST PROOF of your Zeal and Affection, in a Manner answerable to the NECESSITIES of my Government.*

There is a Honey-Moon in the Marriage of Prince and People, as well as Husband and Wife; and while the Fit lasts, all is Gallantry on one Side, and Fondness on the other.

Thus, when the Speech was reported, an Address of Thanks was voted *nem. con.* which Address was afterwards, in like Manner agreed to, tho' drawn up by the Masterly Hand, as I find it upon Record, of Sir Robert Walpole.

With Regard to the Contents, It condol'd a little, but it congratulated more: For the Death of his late Majesty, was a Loss, it said, which the present, alone, could possibly repair; the immediate Succession

cession (or rather the Succession immediately) had banish'd all our Grief.

It enlarg'd, with great Success, on his Majesty's ample Assurances, &c.

It congratulated his Majesty very artificially upon the *signing* of the *Preliminaries*, and yet more artificially, made the near Prospect of a general Tranquility, depend on his Majesty's pursuing the *same Measures*, which had been taken by his *Royal Father*. In Return for his Majesty's Compliments on the Vigour and Resolution of the last Session, they acknowledg'd it for the greatest Encouragement, they could possibly receive, to find his Majesty so early beginning to lessen the public Expences, and resolv'd to reduce his Forces.

In the next Paragraph, they make a Free-will Offering of their *Lives and Fortunes*, in Support of his Majesty's undoubted Right and Title.

His Majesty's Royal Virtues are next emblazon'd, and then those of his Royal Confort; nor were the Princely Qualities of his numerous and hopeful Issue forgot, and by way of *Desert*, they take their Leave with a lusty Promise of taking sufficient Care of the *Civil List*.

According to which last Clause, Mr. *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, July 2, in Considera-

sideration that the Seven Hundred Thousand a Year, granted to the late King, fell short, and they (the House) were oblig'd to make it up another Way; as, likewise, that his present Majesty's Expences, on account of the Largeness of his Family, and the settling a Household for the Queen, were likely to encrease, took upon him to move, That the entire Funds which had been set apart for the *Civil List*, and produc'd about One Hundred and Thirty Thousand Pounds a Year, above the said yearly Sum of 700,000*l.* might be settled on his Majesty for Life.

A surprizing Demand! But what is more surprizing still, scarce any Body besides Mr. *Shippen* appears on Record to have oppos'd it: And upon how good Grounds he did so, will be best understood from the following Extracts, taken from his Speech on that Occasion, which contain too many remarkable Particulars to be omitted:

" I remember very well, that the yearly Sum of 700,000*l.* (tho' now thought too little) was not obtained for his late Majesty, without a long and solemn Debate; and it was allow'd by every one that contended for it, to be an ample, Royal Revenue. Nor was it ask'd inconsiderately, and on a sudden; it was ask'd on mature Deliberation,

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after

after the Queen's Civil List Branches were found deficient ; it was ask'd after many Computations had been made of every Charge requisite to support the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and to maintain the present Royal Family : It was ask'd, after duly weighing what Provision would be sufficient to answer all the ordinary and extraordinary Occasions of the Civil Government ; what would be sufficient to answer all proper Augmentations of Salaries, all reasonable and charitable Pensions, all secret Services at Home and Abroad, necessary to carry on a just and wise Administration : It was ask'd by the honourable Person himself, and others, who were entering into great Employments, who were going to taste of the Royal Bounty ; who, therefore, could not possibly be suspected to have any Design of cramping his Majesty by a too contracted and narrow Revenue.

“ Nor is it any Objection to the Reasoning of that Time, when the 700,000 *l.* were granted to the late King, or to the Computations then made, that this Sum is said to have been found by the *Experience of past Times*, not to be answerable to the Necessities of the Civil Government.

For *this Experience* could not be found in the Queen's Reign, because her Civil List Branches

Branches seldom amounted to 600,000*l.* commonly to about 550,000*l.* and sometimes to a very little above 500,000*l.* as appears by Accounts formerly laid before this House; and I will not suppose those Accounts which were brought from the Treasury to be otherwise than true.

“ Tho’ her Revenues were so low, yet she called upon her Parliament but once in a Reign of above thirteen Years, to pay the Debts contracted in her Civil Government.

“ But she was so sensible of the Inconvenience, and so determin’d never to apply to her Parliament again in the like Manner, that she order’d a considerable Reduction to be made of her Civil Government Expences. I have seen a Scheme of this Reduction, as it was actually settled a little before her Death, and intended to commence the *Lady-Day* following. ’Twould be tedious to go thro’ all the particular Articles of it, and I will only name three or four. The Cofferer’s Office Payments were reduced from 85,000*l.* to 75,000*l.* The Allowances for Foreign Ministers, from 75,000*l.* to 30,000*l.* Pensions and Bounties from 87,490 odd Pounds, to 60,000*l.* Secret Services from 27,000*l.* to 20,000*l.* A Sum surprizingly small, when compar’d with the late Disbursements on that Head!

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In



In short, the whole yearly Expences were designed to be reduced to 459,941 *l.* And that would have been done without eclipsing the Glory of the Crown ; which some Gentlemen so roundly affirm, cannot now be maintained under almost a double Appointment.

“ From hence it appears plainly, that this Argument of *The Experience of past Times*, can have no Reference to the Queen's Reign. It must therefore be apply'd (tho' put in the Plural Number) to the late Administration only ; and I confess, if the same Management was to be continu'd, if the same Ministers were to be again employ'd, a Million a Year would not be sufficient to carry on the exorbitant Expences, so often, and so justly complain'd of in this House. For it is notorious, it is fresh in all our Memories, that, besides the yearly 700,000 *l.* there have been many occasional Taxes, many excessive Sums rais'd, and they have been all sunk in that bottomless Gulph of Secret Service. First, the memorable 250,000 *l.* was rais'd (in Defiance of the antient Parliamentary Methods) to secure us from the Apprehensions of a *Swedish* Invasion. Then the two *Insurance Offices* were erected in as irregular a Manner, by a Bill brought into this House (at the latter End of a Session, and after the

the Committee of Supply had been closed) by the *Honourable Person*, on his Return into Power ; and those Bubbles paid near 300,000 *l.* for their Charters. Then a new Scene of Affairs opening in *Sweden*, changed our Enmity into an Alliance ; there was a Subsidy of 72000 *l.* implicitly granted to make good *some Secret Bargain* and Engagement with that Crown. At the same time near 24,000 *l.* was given for burning two Merchant Ships arrived from infected Places ; but tho' the Goods, as well as the Ships, were paid for by this House, that they might (without Injury to the Owners) be destroy'd for the Public Safety, yet most of them were privately convey'd into the Counties adjacent to the Port where the Ships lay, and sold there. Then soon after, a Sum of 500,000 *l.* was demanded and granted for the Payment of the Civil List Debts : On which Occasion his late Majesty declared in his Message, that *He was resolved to cause a Retrenchment to be made of his Expences for the future* : But, notwithstanding that Resolution, in less than four Years (the Necessities of the Government having render'd the promised Retrenchment impracticable) there was a new Demand, and a new Grant of 500,000 *l.* more, to discharge new Incumbrances. I might

mention too, the *Spanish Ships* which were taken in the famous *Mediterranean Sea-Fight*, and (as we have Reason to believe) sold for a considerable Sum of Money. Nor is it possible to forget the 120,000 *l.* which we could only be told, the last Session (in a general unexplain'd Article) was *secretly* disposed of, for the Public Utility, for the Conservation of the Peace of *Europe*, and for the Security of the *Commerce and Navigation of Great Britain*.

"After all these, and other extraordinary Supplies (I am informed) there yet remains a Debt in the Civil Government of above 600,000 *l.* If so, surely there must have been a most egregious Neglect of Duty, to say no worse; there must have been a strange Spirit of Extravagance somewhere; or such immense Sums could never have been so soon, so insensibly squander'd away."

But all these strong Circumstances were urg'd to no Purpose; the Motion was *unanimously* agreed to; not even the zealous Mr. *Pulteney* dissented; tho' not only He, but every one besides, was fully sensible, that in granting this dreadful Article, they granted all Things; as hath since been fatally demonstrated, in the Report of the *Secret Committee*, appointed to enquire into
the

the LAST *Ten Years* Conduct of Robert Earl of Orford.

They likewise complimented Queen *Caroline* with a Settlement of 100,000 *l. per Ann.* in case she surviv'd his Majesty.

And thus the *sole* Business of this Session (for no body seems to have thought of coupling Redress of *Grievances* with these mighty Donations) being over, his Majesty put an End to it, *July 8*, with a Speech full of Acknowledgments; and having mention'd his Intention to dissolve this *true and trusty* Parliament, did not lose the Opportunity of recommending it to *his* People, to chuse just *such another*: For, tho' upon the first Divisions, during the first Session, the *Opposition* appeared to be almost Two Hundred strong, it dwindled by degrees to about Half that Number; who, tho' enough to make a *Noise*, were too few to give his Minister any material Interruption.

The most remarkable Incidents which happen'd during the Recess, were the Coronation, and a * Treaty between the most

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Serene

* The Preamble to which is as follows:

" That the most serene House of *Brunswick-Lunenbourg* has always endeavoured to preserve and cultivate a strict Friendship between all its Branches, which has contributed
not

Serene King of *Great Britain*, and the most Serene Duke of *Wolfenbittel*; who, in Consideration of an annual Subsidy of 25000*l. Sterling* a Year, engages to guaranty to the said most serene King, not only his Dominions in *Germany*, but also his Kingdoms of *Great Britain*; under a wholesome Proviso, however, that his Contingent of Troops, not less than *Five Thousand*, should never be transported into the said Kingdoms.

Jan. 21, His Majesty open'd
1727-8. the Session with a most gracious Speech, setting forth the Satisfaction he took in being able to give his Parliament *Hopes* of seeing the public Peace soon restor'd, as likewise his *Wishes* that the first

not only to the Honour and Prosperity of the said most serene House, but has likewise been for the Advantage of the Protestant Religion, the Interests whereof the said most serene House has always had at Heart."

" His Majesty the most serene King of *Great Britain* Elector of *Brunswick-Lunenbourg*, and his most serene Highness the Duke of *Brunswick-Lunenbourg-Wolfenbittel* judging that it will be very necessary for the mutual Good of their said House, as well as for the Benefit of the Protestant Religion, to strengthen the antient Union by new Engagements between his said Majesty and his said most serene Highness, with the only View and Intention to give to each o' her a Reciprocal Guarantie of their own Countries, and without any Design to give any Trouble, or to cause any Injury either to the Emperor or Empire, nor to any other Power whatsoever. They have for this Purpose given their sufficient Powers to, &c."

Period

Period of his Reign might have been distinguished with a Reduction of his Forces, a Diminution of Taxes, &c. Expressing his *Sensibility* of our present uneasy Situation, in which we have suffer'd the *Inconveniencies* of a War, without any Opportunity of resenting the Injuries we sustain'd: Laying it to the Charge of *Spain*, that the Ratification of the *Preliminaries* had been so long delay'd; mentioning the Pleasure he took in acquainting them, that all Difficulties which retarded the opening the Congress would soon be entirely remov'd; Declaring, however, that it would be absolutely necessary to continue the Preparations, which have hitherto been our Security; Promising *again* to reduce the public Expence as soon as possible; assuring the House of *Commons*, that tho' the Supplies of the Year exceed his Wishes and Inclinations, they should be employ'd *solely* for the Interest and Security of the Nation: Hinting, That if any Method can be found to raise the said Supplies, less *grievous* than another, it ought to have the *Preference*; Recommending *Greenwich* Hospital to their Care, that Seamen may be *invited* into the Service rather than be *compell'd* to come in; and closing all with a Caution to both Houses, so to act, as may convince
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the World that *none* among them were capable, for *any Views* whatever, to wish the *Distress* of their Country, or to give an Occasion from the *Prospect* of *Difficulties* that may *arise* and be *fomented* here at Home, to interrupt or disappoint our present Promising Expectations, &c.

Nothing could better shew the happy Effects of the familiar Intercourse which, since the Revolution, had been open'd between the *Court* and the *House of Commons*, than their Address of Thanks for this most gracious Speech, *Viz.*

That his Majesty was sensible of his People's Grievances, they took as kindly as if he had redress'd them: They thought it was impossible for any Dissention to prevent their feeling the good Effects of his Prudence, as it was for any Event to make them forget the MARKS they had already receiv'd of his Affection.

They extol his Glory to the Skies, for preferring the Care of his People to every other Consideration, even the Peace of all *Europe*, &c. and congratulate him on the *near Prospect* of the Success of his Negotiations: But if those Negotiations should unexpectedly fail, they declare their Resolution to enable his Majesty to do himself *Right*, notwithstanding. They *anticipate* their own
Votes,

Votes, and engage themselves to furnish him with *whatever Supplies* may be wanted; in the Assurance, that he will ask *no more* of his People than is NECESSARY for their OWN INTEREST and SECURITY.

They signify their Intention to raise the said Supplies in the Manner *directed* by his Majesty; express an *entire Dependence* on his Majesty's Justice and Wisdom, as to the Application; make no manner of *Doubt* of his Majesty's paternal Goodness in point of the Reductions necessary to be made, some Time or other, for our *present Ease*, without endangering our *future Safety*; assure him, with great Confidence, that they do not imagine any Dangers or Difficulties *can arise*, which his Majesty's Prudence, Caution, Abilities and Experience, with the Assistance of his Allies, his Parliament, and his People; will not *easily dispel*: Undertake for *Greenwich Hospital*; declare, that no Disputes or Differences, among themselves, shall give the Adversary any Advantage; as likewise, that they cannot give better Evidence of their LOVE TO THEIR COUNTRY, than *by a constant Demonstration* of their Duty to the BEST OF KINGS, &c. &c. &c.

Nor did their Actions fall short of their Promises; for they voted first 15000 *Seamen*; and then that the *Standing Army*, under

der the Head of *Guards* and *Garrisons*, should consist of 22,955 Men; this last Article indeed was disputed; the *Minority* contending, that the Augmentation of 8000, made last Year, ought to be * entirely reduc'd: But it was easy for 290 to confute 84, and so the Army obtain'd another *Victory*.

The 12000 *Hessian* Troops came next into play, and were oppos'd with Might and Main, by the same † Gentlemen who had shewn their Teeth in the Affair of the *Standing Army*: But his Excellency Mr. H. *Walpole* taking upon him to shew, that the said Troops were necessary to keep the *Peace of Germany*, and that they could not be dispens'd with, till the Congress at *Cambray* was over, the said 84 were silenced as before.

If from great Things we may descend to small, it may not be amiss to take Notice, that the *Exchequer* having been robb'd of 4191 *l.* 14 *s.* 6 *d.* a Bill was brought in to indemnify the Office, and saddle the Loss upon the People.

* 3,600 Private Men had already been disbanded.

† Except Mr. *Pulteney*, who did not attend that Day; and thereby excus'd his great Antagonist Sir R. W. the Trouble of a Speech.

Queen

Queen *Elizabeth* left us a Precedent of Subsidies REMITTED to her Subjects; but in this Reign of the BEST OF KINGS, after his generous Commons, within the Space of THREE WEEKS, had given him no less than FOUR ‡ MILLIONS, we meet with a Message, demanding to be enabled (by a Vote of Credit) to discharge such Engagements as *still* remain unsatisfy'd; and such a Vote placing an *entire Confidence*, was pass'd accordingly by 237 Voices against 101, and ordered to be presented to his Majesty by the *whole House*.

The Mortgaging the Surplus of the Coal Duty to the Bank, having drawn the Produce and Application of the *Sinking Fund* into *question*, a Day was set apart for taking that Affair into Consideration, when several Papers having been read, and Clerks examin'd, a Motion was made, "That it appears, That the Monies already issued and applied towards discharging the National Debts, incurred before *Christmas* 1716, (together with the Sum of Two Hundred and

‡ The Malt Tax computed at	_____	_____	£
The Land Tax at 3 s.	_____	_____	750,000
The Loan made by the Bank on a 70,000 l.	_____	_____	1,500,000
Annuity arising from the Duty on Coals	—	} _____	1,750,000
			Twenty

Twenty Thousand Four Hundred Thirty-five Pounds, sixteen Shillings and Fourpence Three Farthings, which will be issued at *Lady-Day* 1728, towards discharging the said Debts,) amount to Six Millions, Six Hundred Forty-eight Thousand, Seven Hundred Sixty-two Pounds, Five Shillings and One Penny Farthing."

Hereupon there arose a very warm and long Debate, that lasted till past Eight of the Clock in the Evening ; in which the Minority, headed by the Two *Pulteneys*, &c. urg'd, " That, notwithstanding the Supplies which were annually raised in the last Reign, notwithstanding the great Sums of Money given from Time to Time, for extraordinary Expences, and secret Service, notwithstanding the Produce of the *Sinking Fund*, the *Public Debts*, for the gradual Discharge of which that famous Project was said to be contrived, were rather encreased than lessened ; and this in a Time of almost uninterrupted Peace and Tranquility, which must be owing to a very profuse Management of the public Treasure ; and yielded but a very melancholy Prospect ; since, at this Rate, our Debts must still grow faster, in case of a War, or public Troubles ; so that the heavy and numerous Taxes that
now

now lay upon the Nation, must be perpetuated to the latest Posterity."

Then, entering upon Particulars, they took Notice of the Artifice with which the *Accounts* that lay before them, were drawn up: That, in order to swell *That* of the Sums said to have been issued and applied towards the Discharge of the public Debts, incurred before *Christmas* 1716, there was added to it above three Millions, for the advanced Price given in the Year 1720, in order to make the Irredeemables redeemable, which could not properly be call'd a Payment of those Debts; whereas, on the other hand, in the Account of the present *National Debt*, or of the Increase of that Debt since *Christmas* 1716, several large Sums were omitted; particularly One Million, raised upon the Credit of the *Civil List*, and several Deficiencies on the *Land Tax*, *Malt*, and other Funds, which certainly still remained a *Public Debt*. Sir R— W—, against whom these Objections and Reflections were chiefly levelled, not only sustained, but attempted to repel the Attacks of his Antagonists; and, in a long Speech, having shewed the Nature and State of the public Debts, and the Operation and Efficacy of the *Sinking Fund*, strenuously maintain'd the Assertion contain'd in the Motion

tion ; which was finally carry'd, and in a pompous Representation, laid before his Majesty, by way of Triumph ; to which he was pleas'd to return a most gracious Answer ; which, for Reasons but too obvious to every Reader, deserves to be inserted entire.

Gentlemen,

“ I Cannot but be very well pleased with
 “ this Representation, which must
 “ give general Satisfaction to all my People,
 “ by removing those groundless Jealousies and Apprehensions which have
 “ been propagated and dispersed throughout the Kingdom.

“ The happy Effects of the flourishing
 “ State of the Public Credit are too sensibly felt and seen, not to be confessed and
 “ acknowledged by every Body.

“ And the Provision made for gradually
 “ discharging the National Debt, is now
 “ become so certain and considerable, that
 “ nothing, but some unforeseen Event, can
 “ alter or diminish it: Which gives us the
 “ fairest Prospect of seeing the Old Debts
 “ discharged, without any Necessity of incurring New Ones.

“ And you may be assured, That it shall
 “ be my particular Care and Study to maintain and preserve the Public Credit, to
 “ im-

“ improve the Sinking Fund, and to avoid
“ all Occasions of laying any new Burthens
“ upon my People.”

All these, it is apparent, were Court Points; let us now see what was obtain'd on behalf of the Subject.

1. The Coal-Tax being *peculiar* to the Port of *London*, and consequently laying *peculiar* Hardships both on the Trade and the Inhabitants thereof, the *Lord-Mayor*, &c. presented a Petition against the Mortgage to the *Bank* above-mention'd, as tending to *perpetuate* the said Tax; but had the Mortification to have their Petition rejected, by a Majority of 214 against 92.

2. A Motion having been made to address for a particular and distinct Account of the 250,000 *l.* which, in the Accounts of the Year 1727, is charg'd to have been issued for *Items* not therein specify'd, such an Address was permitted to pass, and was presented to his Majesty; who, in his most gracious Answer, was pleas'd to quote the *Concessions* made by the House to his Royal Father; and further to signify, That the Sum in question had been apply'd, partly by his Father, and partly by himself, for carrying on necessary Services, of the utmost Importance to these Kingdoms, which require the greatest Secrecy, &c.

A a

3. Mr.

3. Mr. *W. Pulteney*, hereupon, rais'd several Objections against such a vague and general Way of accounting for Public Money, as tending to render Parliaments altogether *useless*, to cover *Embezzlements*, and to *skreen* corrupt and rapacious Ministers: The Majority were, however, of a different Opinion; for a Motion being made to adjourn the House, it was carry'd by 202 Votes against 66.

4. In the Account general of the Public Debts, laid before the House, it appear'd that one whole Article, relating to the Duty upon Wrought Plate, was *left out*; upon which Occasion, some severe Reflections were made on the Neglect and Carelessness wherewith the public Accounts, laid before the House, were made up: And, in order to prevent the like for the future, it was mov'd, That all Accounts deliver'd to the House, from the *Exchequer*, should be sign'd either by the *Auditor*, or the Clerk of the *Pells*, or by their Deputies: But even this was too great a Favour to the Public; and therefore had a Negative pass'd upon it.

Lastly, A few Days before the Close of the Session, Mr. *Pulteney* having urg'd, that great Abuses had been committed in the Grants of Wood-Falls in the late Reign;
and

and a Motion being made for an Address, that an Account of Falls and Sales, from *Christmas* 1715, to *June* 1720, might be laid before the House, Sir R. W. was pleas'd to express his Disapprobation of such an Address, as what *might be injurious to the Dead, and unprofitable to the Living*; and, there-upon, the *Previous Question* stifled all further Proceedings.

May 28, His Majesty, in a most gracious Speech, acknowledg'd the Dispatch, Zeal, and Unanimity of both Houses, signified his Expectations that the Congress would *soon* be open'd, and *soon* happily clos'd; Thank'd the Commons in particular for their effectual Supplies, &c. and put an End to the Session.

In *June* the said Congress was open'd at *Soissons*, under the Mediation of FRANCE; and in *September*, his Majesty took Possession of his Stall at *Windsor*, as Sovereign of the *Garter*, with the usual Ceremonies; which are the only remarkable Events, which happen'd during the Recess; except the Arrival of the Prince of *Wales* from *Hanover*; who, after having been so long neglected, was sent for in such a Hurry, that scarce any Preparation was made for his Reception: Whence we are fairly authoris'd to conclude, that, had not an intended Motion of

the Anti-Courtiers relating to his R. H. taken Air, *England*, perhaps, would have lamented his Absence at this Day.

^{1728-9.} *Jan. 21.* His Majesty, in a most gracious Speech to both Houses, set forth his Concern, on being *again* oblig'd to speak to his Parliament in a State of *Uncertainty*, and that a just Regard for the Ease and Interest of his People alone prevail'd with him rather to suffer some *temporary Inconveniencies* with the daily Prospect of Peace, than, too precipitately, to kindle a War in *Europe*, and plunge the Nation into still greater and unknown Expences.

He then bestow'd two Paragraphs upon the happy Union establish'd among his Allies, and the happy Effects to be expected from it.

Again mention'd his *Hopes* to have seen the Public Expences lessen'd before that Time, but found Reasons to demand a Continuance of them; declin'd a Detail of the Causes and Motives of the present Delays in the Courts of *Madrid* and *Vienna*. 'But
' IF, among other Reasons, continued his
' Majesty, Hopes given from *hence* of creating *Discontents* and *Divisions* among my
' Subjects, and a Prospect of seeing Difficulties arise at Home, have *greatly encouraged* them in their *dilatory Proceedings*,

ings, I am persuaded, that your known Affection to me, and a just Regard for your own Honour, and the Interest and Security of the Nation, will determine you effectually to discourage the *unnatural* and *injuriously Practices* of some Few, who suggest the *Means* of *distressing* their Country, and afterwards clamour at the *Inconveniencies* which they themselves have occasioned. It is more than probable, that foreign Courts will wait now for the Result of your Deliberations, and as you may depend upon my *Constancy* and *Steadiness*, that no wicked and groundless *Suggestions* or *Insinuations* shall make me *depart* from my *present Purposes*, so I entirely rely upon your *Wisdom* and *Unanimity*, &c.

However home these Reflections were upon those who oppos'd the Court Measures, or how apparently soever tending to abridge the Freedom of Parliament, the Majority of both Houses betray'd no Resentment; but, on the contrary, insisted upon Thanks for, and Compliances with, every Article: When, therefore, the *Minority* in the House of *Commons* stick'd only for the Alteration of a *single Word* in the Address, RESTORE for SECURE the Commerce, and supported their Claim with unanswer-

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able

able Reasons, drawn from notorious Facts, they were defeated by 249 Voices against 87.

Having given this Earnest of their Ductility and Complaisance, we are not to wonder that the whole Session was of a-piece.

Fifteen Thousand Men were voted, in the first Place, for the Navy, and 23000 for Guards and Garrisons; tho' both Mr. *Pulteney* and Mr. *Skippen* undertook to shew how dangerous and uselefs a *Standing Army* was to *England* in Times of Peace: The Last, in particular, quoted the *Bill of Rights*, and made no Scruple to ascribe the Misfortunes of *James II.* to the Breaches he made in our Constitution, by endeavouring to introduce a Military Government.

But all was in vain; in the Market, Money governs all Things; and neither Philosophy nor Rhetoric are of any Weight.

Thus, likewise, when the Pay of the 12,000 *Hessian* Forces, amounting to 241,259*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.* and 25,000*l.* for those of *Wolfenbuttle* came under Consideration, tho' Mr. *Pulteney* urg'd, that the Landgrave of *Hesse* maintain'd but 5000 *additional* Men for the Service of the Allies of *Hanover*; that his Highness of *Wolfenbuttle* had made *no Augmentation at all*; and consequently, that we ought to pay for no more than were actually

actually *rais'd* upon our Account; the Majority would hear of no Abatement. The King's Engagements were to be made good, and Loyalty got the better of Oeconomy. An Address, however, was obtain'd, That whenever it was necessary for his Majesty to take *foreign* Troops into his Pay, he would be graciously pleas'd to use his *Endeavours*, that they might be cloath'd with the Manufacture of *Great Britain*.

At the same time, likewise, the annual Subsidy of 50,000 *l.* was voted to the King of *Sweden*.

But, over and above these open and avowed *State-Jobs*, which were necessary for the Support of our *foreign System*, our notable Ministers had, likewise, certain other Points to carry, which were equally necessary to make Things easy at Home.

Navy Bills were now circulating considerably under Par, as Army Debentures had done formerly, and consequently presented a new Opening for one of those golden Harvests, without which, it seems, no *Government* is worth serving.

Accordingly an Account was call'd for, and presented to the House, of the Amount of the Interest Money which had been paid for *Navy* and *Victualling Bills*, from *December 25, 1721, to Dec. 25, 1728*; upon

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which,

which, the Leaders of the Opposition, taking the Alarm, first declar'd, That, notwithstanding the Oeconomy said to be established in the Management of the Revenues, it appear'd the Public Debts encreas'd every Year; and then mov'd, That the Supplies necessary for the current Service of the Year might be rais'd without creating any new Debts upon any new Fund whatsoever: But as this was laying the *Axis* to the *Root*, the Motion pass'd in the Negative, I think, without a Division: And, some Days after, 500,000 *l.* was granted for discharging the like Sum in *Exchequer Bills*, made forth towards the discharging the Wages due to Seamen.

With regard to Ways and Means, besides the *Malt Bill*, Three Shillings in the Pound were this Year laid upon Land, &c. and 1,000,250 *l.* was rais'd by Sale of *Annuities*, not exceeding 50,000 *l. per Ann.* redeemable by Parliament: But when a Motion was made for the House to consider of proper Means to take off the Duties upon Soap and Candles, the Previous Question was put, and pass'd in the Negative, by 217 against 79.

But that which, at this Time, principally engross'd the Attention of the Nation, was the State of our Commerce, with respect to the *Outrages of Spain*: By way of Introduction,

duction, therefore, to what was to follow, a Motion was made, That the *South Sea Directors* do lay before the House an Account of the Demands which the Company had upon the *Spaniards*, since the Year 1717, for Seizures made by them on the said Company; but such an Interest had the *Spaniards* in the House, that the Question was carry'd in the Negative.

Not discourag'd, however, by this unpromising Outset, the Merchants of *London*, *Bristol*, and *Liverpool*, trading to *America*, severally presented Petitions, setting forth the Losses they had sustained by the Depredations of that insulting Nation; and made out their Allegations at the Bar of the House, in so full and undeniable a Manner, that even the Minister himself could not avoid permitting the following Resolution to pass, *Nemine Contradicente*, viz. "That an humble Address be presented to desire his Majesty to use his *utmost Endeavours*, to prevent such Depredations, to procure just and reasonable Satisfaction for the Losses sustain'd, and to secure to his Subjects the free Exercise of Commerce and Navigation to and from the *British Colonies in America*."

To all which Particulars, his Majesty was pleas'd to return a gracious Answer; and the House return'd the *Compliment* with an Address of Thanks.

The

The House, afterwards, proceeded to take into Consideration the Sufferings of the Merchants trading to *Spain, Portugal, and Italy*; and, in the Issue, resolv'd, That several Ships, Merchandizes, and Effects, belonging to the said Merchants, had been taken and seized in Violation of Treaties, for which no Restitution had been made, and that the Masters and Crews of several of the said Ships had been *barbarously and inhumanly* treated.

But, in order to make their *Court* to the *Minister*, as well as *temporize* with the Resentments of the People, this last Vote was coupled with another, which declar'd, That the Orders given to *Hofier* to block up the Flota and Galleons, until Justice and Satisfaction should be given to his Majesty and his ALLIES, were *just, prudent, and necessary*; tending very much to prevent an open *Rupture*, and to *preserve* the *Peace and Tranquility of Europe*.

Thus, like what is fabled of the *Salamander*, did the said *Minister* find *Sustenance* in the very Flame which was kindled to consume him; and left his Enemies blinded with their own Smoke.

Before we leave this Subject, 'tis however necessary to follow it into the other House, where we find their Lordships, in a full
House,

House, (*March 18.*) considering the State of the Nation, particularly with relation to the positive Demand made by the Court of *Spain*, for the Restitution of *Gibraltar*, grounded on a Letter written in the Year 1721, by his late Majesty to the King of *Spain*: A Copy of that Letter in *French*, with the Translation of it in *English*, having, with other Papers, been laid before the House, the said Translation was read, as follows:

Sir, My Brother,

I Have learn'd with great Satisfaction, by the Report of my Ambassador at your Court, that your Majesty is, at last, resolv'd to *remove* the *Obstacles* that have for some Time delay'd the entire Accomplishment of our Union. Since, from the Confidence which your Majesty expresses towards me, I may look upon the Treaties which have been in Question between us as re-establish'd; and that, accordingly, the Instruments necessary for the carrying on the Trade of my Subjects, will be deliver'd out, I do no longer balance to assure your Majesty of my Readiness to SATISFY you, with regard to your Demand touching the RESTITUTION of GIBRALTAR; promising you to make use of the first favourable Opportunity to regulate this Article, with the Consent of my Parliament.

ment. And to give Your Majesty a farther Proof of my Affection, I have order'd my Ambaffador, as foon as the Negotiation with which he has been charg'd, fhall be finish'd, to propofe to your Majesty new Engagements to be enter'd into, in Concert and jointly with *France*, fuitable to the prefent Conjuncture, not only for ftrengthning our Union, but alfo for fecuring the Tranquillity of *Europe*: Your Majesty may be perfuaded that I, on my Part, will fhew all the Facility imaginable, promifing my felf that you will do the fame, for the mutual Benefit of our Kingdoms, being moft perfectly,

Sir, My Brother,

June 1st, Your Majesty's Good Brother
1721.

To the King of Spain, *GEORGE R.*
Monfieur my Brother.

After a long Debate it was moved to Refolve, That it is the Opinion of this Houfe, That for the Honour of his Majesty, and the Prefervation and Security of the Trade and Commerce of this Kingdom, effectual Care fhould be taken in the prefent Treaty, That the King of *Spain* do renounce all Claim and Pretention to *Gibraltar* and
the

the Island of *Minorca*, in plain and strong Terms.

But after a smart Debate, the Question being put thereupon, it was carry'd in the Negative; upon which, several Peers enter'd the following Protest.

Dissentient,

1. Because we think our Right to a Place of such Importance to our Commerce, as *Gibraltar*, should be secur'd by more than General Stipulations, which may be liable to different Constructions, and will probably be interpreted by the *Spaniards* in their own Favour, however we may interpret them in ours.

2. Because the King of *Spain* having claimed it by his Ministers several Times, not only from the late King's positive Promise, as he asserts it to be, but of our Forfeiture of it too, by our Infractions of those Conditions on which he gave it up to us, and having actually besieged it, since he yielded it to us by Treaty, it seems reasonable to us, That we should insist upon his making his Renunciation of it in Words as plain and strong as he has made his Claim to it; especially since, as far as we have heard, our Plenipotentiaries have not been able to prevail upon him to shew any Inclination

nation to relinquish his Pretensions to it, during the long Course of these perplex'd Negotiations; in which we have been unskilfully, as we fear, and, we are SURE, we have been unfortunately, involved.

3. We think it is incumbent upon us to take particular Care, that our Right to it should not in the least be precarious, because we apprehend we have great Reason to fear, that the King of *Spain's* Allies are very desirous to have it again in his Hands; and no Reason at all to believe, that our own Allies are solicitous to have it continue in ours. If there should be the least Room left, upon a Peace, for the King of *Spain's* Pretensions to it, from any loose or doubtful Expressions, we are apprehensive it may lay a Foundation for Uneasiness and Animosity, and might interrupt a perfect Harmony between us and a Nation whose Friendship must always be of the greatest Advantage to us: We think, our Zeal to preserve our Title to it in that most effectual Manner we proposed, would have terrify'd any wicked Ministers, even from the Thoughts of giving it up; if ever we should be in such wretched Circumstances, as to have any who might think a War more dangerous to themselves than the Nation; and who might, for that Reason,

Reason, be tempted to purchase an inglorious Peace, at the high Price of so valuable a Part of the *British* Dominions.

<i>Beaufort,</i>	<i>Bathurst,</i>
<i>Strafford,</i>	<i>Foley,</i>
<i>Craven,</i>	<i>Willoughby de Brook.</i>
<i>Boyle,</i>	<i>Litchfield,</i>
<i>Abingdon,</i>	<i>Coventry,</i>
<i>Weston,</i>	<i>Oxford & Mort.</i>
<i>Berkshire,</i>	<i>Montjoy,</i>
<i>Scarfsdale,</i>	<i>Plymouth.</i>
<i>Gower,</i>	

The next Day, (*March 19*) the Lords sent a Message to the Commons, desiring a present Conference with them in the Painted Chamber, relating to *Gibraltar* and the Island of *Minorca*; which being readily agreed to, the Managers for the Lords communicated to those of the Commons, a Resolution which the Lords had come to, as follows:

Die Martis 18 Martij 1728.

REsolv'd by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and in Parliament assembled, that they do entirely rely upon his Majesty, That he will, for the Maintaining the Honour, and securing the Trade of this Kingdom, take effectual Care in the present Treaty, to preserve his undoubted

doubted Right to *Gibraltar* and the Island of *Minorca*.

The Lord *Malpas*, one of the Managers for the Commons, having Reported the Conference to the House, it was resolv'd, to address his Majesty for a Copy of the Letter written by his late Majesty to the King of *Spain*, in 1721, relating to *Gibraltar*. This Letter having accordingly been laid before the House, the Commons took the same into Consideration on *Friday* the 21st of *February*, together with the Lords Resolution above-mention'd; upon which, there was a very long and warm Debate. Many ungracious Reflections were made upon those who first advis'd his late Majesty to write such a Letter, as either imply'd, or at least, was taken by the *Spaniards*, as a *positive Promise* of giving up *Gibraltar*; and therefore might be look'd upon as the main Source and Occasion both of the subsequent Measures that have been pursu'd to recover that false Step, and of the Difficulties we at present labour under. The Courtiers endeavour'd to justify those Measures, and assur'd the House, that effectual Care had been taken in the present Negotiation, to secure the Possession of *Gibraltar* to the Crown of *Great Britain*: But they were answer'd, That the same did not plainly ap-

appear by the Tenor of the Provisional Treaty; and therefore it was Moved, and Insisted by the Country Party, That to the Lords Resolution, now under Consideration, the following Words might be added, *viz.*

‘ And that all Pretensions on the Part of
‘ the Crown of *Spain* to the said Places, be
‘ specifically given up.

But after some further Debate, the Question being put upon the said Motion, it was carry’d in the Negative, by 267 Voices against 111. After this, the Question being put, *That this House does agree with the Lords in the said Resolution*, it was carry’d in the Affirmative without dividing; The Blank in the Lords Resolution having been fill’d up with the Word *Commons*; and the said Resolution form’d (*March 24*) into an Address, both Houses, with their Speakers, presented the same to his Majesty, on *Tuesday* the 25th of *March*; and thereupon his Majesty was pleased to return the following gracious Answer:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Thank you for the Confidence you repose in me: I will take effectual Care, as I have hitherto done, to secure my undoubted Right to *Gibraltar*, and the Island of *Minorca*.

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Again,

Again, *April 17*, the Lords, as before, having taken the State of the Nation into Consideration, very severe Reflections were made on the late Conduct of those in the Administration; and it was proposed to resolve, 'That it appears to this House, that
' the Expence of the Squadron sent to the
' *West-Indies* under the Command of Vice-
' Admiral *Hofier*, having been borne by this
' Nation alone, tho' design'd to prevent the
' *Spaniards* from seizing the Effects belong-
' ing to his Majesty's Allies, as well as his
' Subjects, which were on Board the *Flota*
' and *Galleons*, and from applying the Trea-
' sure to disturb the Peace and invade the
' Liberties of *Europe*, has been an unreason-
' able Burthen on this Kingdom.'

But, after a long Debate, the Question being put thereupon, it was resolv'd in the Negative, by 87 Votes against 27. Hereupon, several Lords sign'd and enter'd the following Protest, *viz.*

Dissentient'

1st, Because we conceive, that our Allies were, at least, as much concern'd as our selves, to prevent the *Spaniards* from disturbing the Peace, and invading the Liberties of *Europe*, if there was, at that Time, sufficient Foundation to apprehend such Attempts

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tempts on the Part of *Spain*; and, because our Allies the *French*, in particular, had a much greater Share in the Effects of the *Galleons*, than this Nation; and by consequence were much more concern'd in Interest, to prevent the King of *Spain* from seizing those Effects.

2dly, Because we not only took the whole Charge of this Expedition upon our selves, but have increas'd our national Forces, by taking great Numbers of foreign Troops into our Pay, and contracted to pay divers Subsidies to Foreign Princes, when it has not appear'd to us, in any authentic Manner, as we apprehend, that our Allies have taken upon themselves, any Expence, proportionable to this, in consequence of the *Hanover Treaty*.

3dly, Because we are convinced, that the National Expence and Losses occasion'd by this Expedition, do not only very far exceed any Interest which the Subjects of this Nation can be supposed to have in the *Galleons*; but have likewise been much more considerable than any Detriment which has accrued to *Spain*, by delaying the Return of the *Galleons*.

4thly, That by taking this Expedition solely upon our selves, we drew the whole Resentment of the Court of *Spain* upon this

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Nation,

Nation, and gave the *French* an Opportunity of healing the Breaches which had been made between those two Courts, of acquiring a greater Share than ever they had in a most beneficial Branch of Trade, and of acting the Part of Mediators, rather than that of Parties in the Disputes.

5thly, We cannot help being of Opinion, that this Burthen was the more unreasonable, since it does not appear that this Expedition has had the Effect of obliging the *Spaniards* clearly to adjust the Points in Dispute between us, or effectually to secure to our Merchants a just Satisfaction for the great Losses which they have sustained by the Seizures and Captures made by the *Spaniards*.

<i>Beaufort,</i>	<i>Montjoy,</i>
<i>Strafford,</i>	<i>Plymouth,</i>
<i>Craven,</i>	<i>Bathurst,</i>
<i>Foley,</i>	<i>Northampton,</i>
<i>Litchfield,</i>	<i>Coventry,</i>
<i>Scarjdale,</i>	<i>Oxford and Mortimer,</i>
<i>Gower,</i>	<i>Willoughby de Broke.</i>

We must now return to our proper Province, the Transactions of the Commons; who having voted an Address, That his Majesty would be graciously pleas'd to lay before this House, a particular and distinct Account
of

of the Distribution of the Sum of 60,000 *l.* which, in an Account laid before the House, shewing how the Money given for the Service of the Year 1728 has been dispos'd of, is charg'd to have been *issued* to perfect and fulfil the *Obligations* his Majesty is under, on Account of Engagements enter'd into, and concerted, for securing and preserving the Peace of *Europe*;

His Majesty was pleas'd to answer, 'That the said Sum had been issued and disburs'd pursuant to the *Power* given to his Majesty by *Parliament*, for necessary Services and Engagements enter'd into, for restoring and preserving the Peace of *Europe*, and which require the *greatest Secrecy*; and, therefore, a particular and distinct Account of the Distribution of it, *could not possibly be given* without a manifest *Prejudice* to the Public.'

It is observable, that to the *Minister* then in Power, an Escape was ever worth as much as a Victory: Thus, having baffled his Pursuers in the Affair of the *Spanish* Depredations, he thought himself authoriz'd to levy Contributions:

Accordingly, towards the latter End of *April*, he made a bold Demand of 115,000 *l.* said to be deficient in, or out-standing upon Arrear to, the *Civil List*, which it was

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urg'd,

urg'd, the * Parliament had oblig'd itself to make good.

The first Step taken in this Affair was by a Motion of the *Secretary of the Treasury*, for an Address to the King, That the proper Officers might be directed to lay before the House of Commons, an Account of the *Produce* of the Civil List Revenues, within the Year, from *Midsummer* 1727, to *Midsummer* 1728, over and above the annual, weekly, or other Payments and Incumbrances thereon, and over and above all Grants made by any of his Majesty's Predecessors.

Though the Design of this Motion was easily apprehended, yet it was a Surprize to many Gentlemen that it should be made so late in the Session, and after the Recess of *Easter*, and when it was generally understood that there was no farther Demand of Money to be made; since it related to an Account said by the *Gentlemen*, who made the Motion, to have been closed at *Midsummer* 1728, and consequently proper in every Respect (if at all) to have been

* By a Clause, which, we are assur'd, was neither authoriz'd by the Resolution upon which the Bill was order'd to be brought in, nor directed by any subsequent Instruction.

brought

brought in very early in the Session, and to have been considered in a full House; but the Surprize of Gentlemen became still greater, when the Accounts were laid before the House, and it appeared that, contrary to the Words of the Address, and the King's Answer, they were made up, not upon the *real, Net Produce* of the Revenues, but upon what was called the *Net Receipt* within the Year; and that this material Alteration was made by Direction from the *Treasury*, and by Letters writ to the several Officers by the *same Gentleman*, who had moved the Address for the *Produce*. It was therefore moved, That these Papers should be referred to a *private Committee*, with Power to send for such other Accounts, and to call before them and examine such Officers of the Revenue, as they judg'd necessary; and then to report to the House a true State of the Fact, and whether it did appear to them, that there really was such a *Deficiency* in the *Produce* of the Civil List Revenues, as the *Act* requires should be made good.

But this Motion was oppos'd by the *Gentleman at the Head of the Treasury* and the *Secretary*, who deliver'd these Accounts. When therefore the Gentlemen, who made this Motion, were refused this Committee, (an In-

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dul-

dulgence, it was hoped, would have been thought reasonable, in a Case of such Intricacy and Consequence.) They then begg'd, that at least it might be considered in a *full House*; that all Leaves of Absence might be revok'd, and the Members summoned to attend, as had been usual upon Business of less Importance; but this was likewise refused, being opposed by the said *Two Gentlemen*.

The Members, who had been so unsuccessful in these Motions, then moved for several Accounts from the Offices; and being afterwards apprehensive of not obtaining these Accounts in Time, they moved for the Attendance of the Commissioners of Customs and Excise, the Post-Masters General, and other Officers of the Revenue, in order to have all the Light they could possibly obtain, in an Affair they thought of the utmost Importance.

I will not trouble the Reader with the many Differences and Contradictions which there are between all the Accounts first delivered from the Respective Offices, and the Account from the *Exchequer*; nor the particular Differences between them and the last Accounts which were called for, and are in some Instances very extraordinary;

nary; but the Alteration they make in the general Ballance of the Account, is visible by the annex'd *Abstract*; which is farther undeniably confirmed by the remarkable Retolution which the House came to after the Examination of the Officers of the Revenue, and comparing together the different Accounts brought upon this Occasion.

By the Account brought in and signed by the Secretary of the Treasury, the 115,000 *l.* is stated as a *Deficiency*: In the *Resolution* and in the Clause of *Appropriation*, it is called an *Arrear*, and an *Arrear to be re-placed and re-funded*. By the annexed Account there was so far from being a *Deficiency*, that the Produce of the Year was 912,649 *l.* of which 708,368 *l.* was actually received in Money in *London* before *Midsummer* 1728. Received afterwards in Money 128,115 *l.* and standing out in *Arrears*, in *April* 76,165 *l.* which, whenever they came in, must be accounted as the Produce of that Year, from *Midsummer* 1727, to *Midsummer* 1728. It does not indeed appear by the Accounts laid before the two Houses, at what Times the *Arrears* were paid in, as it might have done, if all the Accounts called for had been given; but from the Nature of the
Arrears,

Arrears, such as Bills of Exchange, Money in the Hands of Receivers, or Charges by them made in their Accounts for Duties incurred, it is certain the greatest Part must have been paid within Six Weeks, or sooner, after *Midsummer* 1728; so that the Crown gave Credit to its own Estate, for a few Weeks only; whereas by this Clause, according to the most plausible Construction, which was endeavoured to be put upon it, the Public was to lend his Majesty 115,000 *l.* without Interest, during his Life; and how unlikely this Money is to be ever re-placed, without a manifest Injury to the Servants, and other Creditors of the Crown, at the Time of the Demise, need not be explained to those, who have felt or heard of Losses of the same Kind upon the late Demise: And that some People never intended it should be repaid, I think appears plainly, by their opposing the Motion that was made, to repay this Sum out of the growing annual Surplus of the Revenues, above 800,000 *l.* a Year.

I have before observed, that the * Revenues granted to King *William*, and granted only

* Mr. *Trenchard* tells us, that 530,000 *l.* answer'd all the Purposes of the *corrupt* and *vicious* Court of King *Charles II.* and

only towards the End of his Reign, were limited to 700,000*l.* and soon afterwards reduced: It is here proper to add, that those granted to the late Queen did not amount, one Year with another, to 600,000*l.* out of which, in the first Eight Years of her Reign, she gave to the Use of the War, and other public Occasions, above 700,000*l.* The late King had 700,000*l.* a Year, out of which 100,000*l.* was settled upon his present Majesty, then Prince of *Wales*; and it must be remember'd that the Grants of Pensions in former Reigns amounting to 35,500*l. per Ann.* which were paid out of the Civil List, during the Reigns of King *William*, Queen *Anne*, and his late Majesty, until some few Years before his Death; and were then, by some Words, collusively inserted at the End of a Clause in a Revenue-Act, charg'd upon the Public; this Charge being therefore taken from the Crown, must be reckoned as so much Increase to its Revenue.

and that his Successor made some Retrenchments; tho' the Queen Consort, the Queen Dowager, and the Princess *Anne's* Courts were all upon the then Civil List Establishment.

But

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But let us state the Case from the several Papers deliver'd into Parliament.

	l.	s.	d.
By the Accounts sign'd and deliver'd by Mr. <i>Scrope</i> the Secretary of the Treasury, there was allowed to be received between <i>Midsummer</i> 1727, and <i>Midsummer</i> 1728	684,407	10	10½

By Accounts afterwards call'd for by other Gentlemen, there appeared to be the following Articles omitted in Mr. *Scrope's* Account, and which ought to have been charged to the Receipt before *Midsummer* 1728.

	l.	s.	d.
By an Account signed by the Commissioners of Excise paid the Queen	18750	00	00

By an Account from the Post-Office the Net Receipt is more than is in Mr. <i>Scrope's</i> Account	3814	12	03
---	------	----	----

The Receipt of the Wine Licences appears by the <i>Exchequer</i> Account to be more than charged in Mr. <i>Scrope's</i> Account	1396	11	04
---	------	----	----

23,961 03 07

Total of Net Receipt at <i>Midsummer</i> 1728	708,368	14	05½
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Receiv'd

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	l.	s.	d.		l.	s.	d.
Receiv'd since for Customs	330	13	08	10½			

Ditto on Excise 77873/.

5 s. 1 d. which after
the Deduction of
18892. 0 1¼ paid to
be Arrears of the Du-
ty arisen between the
11th of *June* 1727,
and *Midsummer* 1727,
is —————

58981 4 11¼

Ditto at the Post-Office — 27120 02 08

Ditto Wine Licences — 2900 00 00

Ditto small Branches — 6100 19 08

128,115 16 1¼

Total receiv'd in *April* ————— 836,484 10 7¼

Arrears standing out in
the Customs ————— } 69883 06 0¼

Arrears in the Hands
of the Country Post-
Masters and others — } 6282 01 00

76,165 07 0¼

Total of the Produce ————— 912,649 17 7½

Given the King for Arrears ————— 115,000 00 00

The Half of 79022 l.

4 s. 9 d. ½ in the
Customs charged by
Mr. *Scrope's* Account
for Drawbacks be-
tween *Midsummer*

1727 and *Midsummer*

1728, is by a Return

from the Commiffion-

ers, charged as paid for

Duties before *Mid-*

summer 1727, and

consequently ought to

be placed to the Ac-

count before that Time

39,511 02 ½

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If we add to this the Land Revenues; which are anticipated by Debentures, Fines and Forfeitures; the Sales of Wood, which were always accounted for in the late Queen's Time; the Principality of *Wales*; all the Civil List Revenues of *Scotland*, of all which there is neither any Account of Produce or Disposition; It must be granted, that the Revenues of the Crown, for this Year at least, were more than a Land Tax at 2 s. in the Pound.

There is no need to pursue this Affair any farther. Every body knows the *Minister* carry'd his Point, (by 201 Voices against 115) but every body does not remember, that before the House divided, Mr. *Pulteney* was taken *suddenly* ill, and oblig'd to withdraw.

I shall say no more of this Session, but that it gave Rise to the first Bill, for imposing a Duty on *English* Spirits; and likewise to another Bill, for the more effectual preventing *Bribery* and *Corruption* in the Election of Members; which took its Rise in the House of Commons, and was sent back by the Lords; with some Amendments, to enforce that wholesome and necessary Law, both by enhauncing the Penalty of 50 l. to 500 l. and other Provisions,

vifions, contain'd in the following Claufes,
Viz.

1. *And be it enacted by the Authority aforefaid, That fuch Votes fhall be deemed to be legal which have been fo declared by the laft Determination in the Houfe of Commons, which laft Determination concerning any County, Shire, City, Borough, Cinque-Port, or Place, fhall be final to all Intents and Purpofes whatfoever, any Usage to the Contrary notwithstanding.*

2. *And be it further enacted, That if any Perfon who hath, or claimeth to have, or hereafter fhall have, or claim to have, any Right to vote in any fuch Election, fhall, from and after the faid 24th Day of June, 1729, ask, receive, or take any Money, or other Reward, by way of Gift, Loan, or other Devife, or agree, or contract for any Money, Gift, Office, Employment, or other Reward whatfoever, to give his Vote, or to refufe, or to forbear to give his Vote in any fuch Election; or if any Perfon by himfelf, or any Perfon employ'd by him, doth or fhall, by any Gift or Reward, or by any Promise, Agreement, or Security for any Gift or Reward, corrupt or procure any Perfon or Perfons, to give his or their Vote or Votes, in any fuch Election; fuch Perfon fo offending in any of the Cafes aforefaid, fhall, for every*

every such Offence, forfeit the Sum of 500 l. of lawful Money of Great Britain, to be recover'd as before directed, together with full Costs of Suit; and every Person offending in any of the Cases aforesaid, from and after Judgment obtain'd against him in any such Action of Debt, Bill, Complaint, or Information, or Summary Action, Prosecution, or being any otherwise lawfully convicted thereof, shall for ever be disabled to Vote in any Election of Member or Members to serve in Parliament, and also shall for ever be disabled to hold, exercise, or enjoy any Office or Franchise to which he and they then shall, or at any Time afterwards may be entitled, as a Member of any City, Borough, Town-Corporate, or Cinque-Port, as if such Person was naturally Dead.

However ineffectual this Bill has prov'd to answer the laudable Ends propos'd by it, those in Power thought their Freeholds invaded by it, and therefore rais'd a warm Opposition to these Amendments of the Lords, as tending to encroach upon the Rights and Privileges of the Commons, in hope that, rather than any Misunderstanding should be created between the Two Houses, the Bill would be dropt: But this Artifice of theirs happen'd for once to be ineffectual; the Court-Party had not

not been order'd upon Duty that Day, and so the Amendments were agreed to by 91 Voices against 89.

It ought likewise to be remember'd, that this Session, the Commons, by Address, recommended the Settling of a Civil Government at *Gibraltar*; with what Success, may be seen, by the State of that important Place at this Day.

And now his Majesty, in Imitation of his Royal Father, having taken a Resolution to visit the Land of his Nativity, declar'd the *glad Tidings* to both Houses by Message, and that he likewise design'd to leave his Royal Consort Guardian of the Realm, during his Absence.

Upon which gracious Indication of his Majesty's *Will and Pleasure*, the Lords prepar'd a Bill to enable her Majesty to be Regent without taking the Oaths; which being sent down to the Commons, was read *Three Times*, and pass'd the *same Day*.

All Things being thus brought to a Period, *May 14*, his Majesty clos'd the Session with a most gracious Speech, containing the *usual Compliment of Thanks*, and recommending to both Houses to render her Majesty's Administration as easy as possible; by preserving the Peace, and by

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endeavouring to discountenance and restrain the vile and seditious Practices of raising unjust Clamours, and creating Discontents in the Minds of the People.

A Paper War between the Court of *Hanover* and the Duke Administrator of *Mecklenbourg*, relating to the Evacuating of that Duchy, and the Delivery of the Chest of the Revenues, agreeable to the Imperial Ordinances of *May 11, 1728*, and *June 17, 1729*, (both which the Court of *Hanover* retus'd, till they had received entire Satisfaction for the Arrears of the Charges of the Execution) as likewise Another between the Courts of *Hanover* and *Prussia*, relating, as far as it appear'd, to the Breach of a Cartel establish'd between the Two Courts, for the Delivery of Deserters, seem to have been the principal Points of Attention, this Summer, in *Germany*; and as to the Treaty of *Seville*, which was negotiating during the same Interval, the bare Mention of it is all that will be necessary, till we come to speak of the Reception it met with, from the Parliament.

Jan. 13, the Session was open'd
 1729-30. with a most gracious Speech, declaring *Peace on Earth*, and breathing *Good-will* towards Men: That is to say,
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proclaiming the Treaty of *Seville*, expatiating on the Advantages we had good Reason to expect from it, and affirming, That the *immediate Interests* of these Kingdoms had been first consulted in it, preferable to any *other Consideration*, and at the *Hazard* of all *other Events*: That a *free* and *uninterrupted Exercise* of our *Commerce* for the Future was *restor'd*: That *just* and *ample Restitution* and *Reparation* for unlawful Seizures and Depredations were *expressly* stipulated and agreed to: And, in general, that all Rights, Privileges, and Possessions, in any Manner belonging to his Majesty or his Allies, were solemnly re-establish'd, confirmed, and guaranteed: And that not one Concession had been made to the Prejudice of King or Subject.

That, in order that his Subjects might reap the earliest Fruits of this advantageous Peace, he had given Orders for the immediate Reduction of a great Number of Land Forces, and for laying up, and discharging a great Part of his Fleet.

His Majesty likewise, recommended to the Commons the farther Disposition of the growing Produce of the sinking Fund, left it to them to judge, whether the Circumstances of the *Sinking Fund*, and of the National Debt would, as yet, admit of giving

any Ease where the Duties were most grievous ; adding, “ I have the greatest *Regard* for the *Sinking Fund*, and look with *Compassion* upon the *Hardships of the poor Artificers and Manufacturers.*” And concluding with the strongest Recommendations of Unanimity ; and a Complaint of the groundless Insinuations, Cavils, and Clamours of some *few* ill-designing Persons, &c.

The Addresses of both Houses, in answer to his Majesty's Speech, tally so exactly with it, in every Article, that one would almost conclude they were all drawn up by the same Hand. As all was Gracious from the Throne, all was Gratitude, Congratulation, Submission, and Resignation on the Side of the People ; insomuch, that, if we were to judge of the Temper of the Times, by these favourable Symptoms, we could not help acknowledging, That no Government was more just ; no People more happy.

But let us cast our Eye from Matters of Ceremony and Compliment, to Matters of Fact.

The contracting Parties in the Treaty of *Seville*, were the Kings of *Great Britain, France, and Spain* ; and the *Dutch* were invited to accede likewise.

By the *first Article*, all former Treaties of Peace, Friendship, and Commerce were renewed and confirmed. By

By the *Second*, the contracting Powers reciprocally guaranteed the Kingdoms, States, and Dominions, under their Obedience, in what Parts of the World soever situate, as also the Rights and Privileges of Commerce; the Whole according to the Treaties. This Article, likewise, fixes the Succours to be furnish'd jointly or separately by the contracting Powers, *viz.* 8000 Foot and 4000 Horse each, leaving Room, however, for the Party attack'd, to demand Ships of War, or Transports, or Subsidies in Money, in lieu of the said Troops; settling the Valuation of the same, and farther providing, that the said Powers shall mutually succour each other with all their Forces, if need be.

By the *Third*, the Catholic King declares, That he never *meant* to grant, nor will suffer to subsist, by the Treaty of *Vienna*, any Privilege *contrary* to the Treaties (of Commerce) above confirm'd.

By the *Fourth* it is agreed, That all necessary Orders shall be dispatch'd, without Delay, for the Exercise of the *English* Commerce in *America*, as *heretofore*, and for supplying what may be wanting for the entire Re-establishment of the said Commerce, as to what relates to *Europe*.

By the *Fifth*, his Catholic Majesty engages, That he will cause Reparation to be

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made for the Damages which have been suffer'd there, since the Time prescrib'd by the *Preliminaries* for the Cessation of Hostilities: And as to what relates to AMERICA, that he will likewise cause Reparation to be made for the Damages which have been suffer'd there, since the Arrival of the Orders at *Carthagena*, on the $\frac{11}{12}$ Day of *June* 1728. And likewise, that he shall publish the most rigorous Prohibitions for preventing the like Violences on the Part of his Subjects; and if there be like Cases, their *Britannic* and most Christian Majesties engage to do the same.

By the *Sixth*, *Seventh*, and *Eighth*, Commissioners were to be appointed, who should assemble at the Court of *Spain*, within the Space of four Months, after the Exchange of the Ratifications of the present Treaty, to discuss the Claims and Pretensions on both Sides, whose Commissions were to terminate in *Three* Years.

By the *Ninth*, the Six Thousand *neutral* Troops, which were to garrison *Leghorn*, *Porto-Farrajo*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, were CHANGED into *Spaniards*, who were to be introduc'd *without Loss of Time*, for the better securing and preserving of the immediate Succession to Don *Carlos*, and to be READY TO WITHSTAND ANY OPPOSITION.

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The *Tenth*, *Eleventh*, *Twelfth*, and *Thirteenth*, Articles relate only to the said Troops and Succession, which last is guaranteed in Form by all the contracting Powers to Don *Carlos* and his Heirs for ever.

By the *Fifteenth*, the States General are invited to become Parties. And by Two *separate* Articles, the Commercial Points re-establish'd by this Treaty, are recapitulated, &c. And it is agreed, That all Seizures, Confiscations and Detentions, the Validity of which may not yet have been sufficiently made out, shall be discuss'd and decided by the * *Commissioners*, upon the Foot of the said Treaties.

Such was the Treaty of *Seville*: But however advantagiously it was represented from the Throne, it met with a very indifferent Reception from the People, who were far from thinking that the great and immediate Advantages which it provided for *Spain*, were, in any Degree, balanced on the Side of *Great Britain*.

The Sanction of Parliament, therefore, became so much the more necessary; and,

* By a Cedula, which was obtain'd about a Month after, for restoring the Prizes taken from the *English* since the 1st of June 1728, all Prizes taken on Account of UNLAWFUL TRADE were excepted.

according to Custom, was obtain'd with no great Difficulty in both Houses; where the Sense of the Minister seem'd to be almost authoritative; and the Sense of the People had little or no Weight.

The Opposition however, bestir'd themselves with great Vigour upon this Occasion, both within Doors and without, and particularly in the upper House, the following Motions were made.

Die Martis 27 Jan. 1729.

" That the Agreement in the Treaty of *Seville* to effectuate the Introduction of *Spanish* Troops into *Tuscany* and *Parma*, is a manifest Violation of the fifth Article of the *Quadruple Alliance*, tends to involve the Nation in a dangerous and expensive War, and to destroy the Ballance of Power in *Europe*.

" That our Right of Sovereignty, Dominion, Possession and Propriety to *Gibraltar*, and the Island of *Minorca*, is not ascertain'd by the Treaty of *Seville*, so as to extinguish the Claims and Pretensions set up by the *Spaniards*, which were follow'd by an actual Siege, since the Session of those valuable Places by the Treaty of *Utrecht*.

" That the Stipulations in the Treaty of *Seville*, for repairing the Losses of our *Merchants*, are insufficient and precarious.

" All

Parliaments of England. 393

" All which, after Debate, severally pass'd in the Negative.

Then it was proposed, by some *other Lords*, to resolve, " That the Treaty of Peace, Union and Friendship, concluded at *Seville* the 9th of *November* last, doth contain all necessary Stipulations for maintaining and securing the *Honour, Dignity, Rights, and Possessions of the Crown*; and that all *due Care* is taken therein for the Support of the *Trade* of the Kingdom, and for repairing the Losses suffered by the *Merchants*; which was resolv'd in the *Affirmative*; upon which several Lords entered their * Protest against it, with their Reasons at large.

It is farther observable, that his Imperial Majesty was so far from looking on the Introduction of *Spanish* Garrisons into *Tuscany* and *Parma* as a trifling Variation from the *Quadruple Alliance*, according to the Doctrine of the *Court Writers*, that He resented both the *Matter* and the *Manner* of it in the strongest Terms, as a downright *Infraction of Treaties*, derogatory to his Honour, and injurious to his Interests, as well as the Rights of the Empire. He ordered his *Ministers* at several Courts to remonstrate

* *Historical Register*, Vol. XV. p. 202.

against

against it as such ; and sent a † *Commissariat Decree* to the Diet at *Ratisbon*; in which, having vindicated his own Conduct to the *States of the Empire*, there assembled, with relation to *Don Carlos*, He speaks of the *present Stipulation* in the following manner :
 “ But, contrary to all Expectation, a particular Treaty hath been concluded at *Seville*, between the Crowns of *Spain, France*, and *Great Britain* ; the 9th and subsequent Articles of which (*relating to the Spanish Garrisons*) cannot but raise the highest Indignation ; because the most essential Bands of human Society are therein broken, and if *Christian Powers* pretend thus to dispose of the Estates of *third Persons*, all Confidence and good Faith ought to be banished out of the World. Besides, They have no Regard to *former Treaties*, nor to the last *Preliminary Articles*, which were acknowledged by *both Parties* as the Groundwork of the Negotiations for the *general Peace*, and as the only Counterpoise to an exorbitant Power, that was design'd to be erected in *Europe*. They have no Attention to the *Acts of Guaranty*, that have been delivered. They dispose of the Rights and Territories of the *Empire* as They please, even in the

† *Historical Register*, Vol. XV. p. 134.

Life-time of the *lawful Possessors*. They set so little a Value upon the *Emperor* and *Empire*, that They would not so much as ask their *Consent* in an Affair, that was properly their own, though *such Consent* was made necessary by the Alliance of *London*,—If therefore *such Conduct* takes Place, and the *new Allies* persist therein, We shall hereafter see *Might* overcome *Right*, and *Engagements* trampled on at Pleasure; and whatever the *new Allies* shall judge to be most convenient will always be most just, without any Regard to *Things*, or *Persons*."

His *Imperial Majesty* likewise represents to the *Germanic Body*, as a Merit to Himself, * "That the Fear of being abandon'd by his Ally, the King of *Spain*, was not capable of making Him take the least Step, that could prejudice *his Dignity*, and That of the *Empire*."

Nor did his *Imperial Majesty* content himself with shewing his Resentment in *Words* and *Appearances* only; but actually poured a large Army into *Italy*, with Orders to oppose the Execution of the Treaty: That, however, he might not be supply'd with Money, by Loans from hence, to enable him to continue in this refractory Hu-

* *Historical Register*, Vol. XV. p. 134.

mour, a Bill was read a second Time in Parliament, *Feb. 24, To prevent any Persons, his Majesty's Subjects, or residing within this Kingdom, to advance any Sum of Money to any foreign Prince, State, or Potentate, without having obtain'd Licence from his Majesty under his Privy Seal, or some greater Authority; in which, inter alia, was the following Clause, ' That the King be empower'd, ' by Proclamation, which shall take Place ' within a limited Time, to prohibit all ' such Loans of Money, Jewels, on Bullion: ' And this Prohibition to continue a limited ' Time, under limited Forfeitures and Penalties, unless dispens'd with by the Crown: ' That the Attorney-General be empower'd by English Bill, in the Court of Exchequer, to compel the effectual Discovery ' on Oath, of any such Loans; and that, in ' Default of an Answer to any such Bill, the ' Court shall decree a limited Sum against ' the Defendant, refusing to answer. Prohibited, That this Act do not extend to prohibit any Subscriptions to the Public Funds, or Trading Companies of foreign Kingdoms.'*

A * Debate, as it was natural to expect,

* In the Course of which, Sir R. W. acquainted the House, That he had the King's Leave to declare, *That there was, at this Time, a Subscription of 400,000 l. transacting here, for the Use and Service of the Emperor.*

arose

arose upon this Occasion; in which Mr. *D. Pulteney*, among other important Particulars, urg'd, That he oppos'd this Bill, because it disabled us from assisting our best Allies, truest Friends, and those who really deserv'd our Aid; adding, That it made the Court of *Exchequer* a Court of *Inquisition*; that it gave new, great, and extraordinary Powers to the Crown, already arm'd with *weighty and terrible Authority*: That, whilst it restrain'd our *Merchants* from assisting the Princes and Powers of *Europe*, it permitted our *Stock-Jobbers* to trade in their Funds, without any Interruption: That he knew for whose Benefit this Complaisance was design'd: But that *Jobbing* abroad was what we should least encourage, and what we ought most to prohibit; for we had suffer'd severely by that Means already (alluding to the *Mississippi* Affair in *France*) and our Ministry would never interpose with the least good Office for their Fellow-Subjects, &c.

Sir *William Wyndham*, Mr. *Barnard*, and several other Members supported Mr. *D. Pulteney*; but with their wonted Succels: All the Considerations they could urge, being over-rul'd, and the Ministry, as ever, continuing victorious.

Such extraordinary Measures were THEN thought

thought necessary to REDUCE the EXORBITANT POWER of the House of *Austria*!

To return to our domestic Affairs: Mr. *H. Pelham* having mov'd for continuing the same Number of Forces (*Viz.* 17,709 Men, Commission and Non-commission Officers included,) Mr. *Shippen*, that constant Opposer of *Standing Armies*, took Occasion to utter the shrewd Particulars which follow:

‘ Sir, the Principle of Self-preservation will last as long as Persons and Governments themselves subsist, and is an Argument that may be constantly renewed; that may be urged *ad infinitum*. But I am so far from admitting this Argument in its full Extent, that I cannot admit it in any Degree, as applied to the present Question. For it does not appear to me, that we can have Occasion, even this Year, for all the Troops demanded, considering the glorious Scene of Affairs, which the honourable Gentleman says is opened to us, and to all *Europe*: They are not *necessary*, I suppose, to awe *Spain* into a firm Adherence to its *own Treaty*: They are not *necessary*, to force the *Emperor* into an *immediate Accession*: Nor are they, in any sort, *necessary*, for the *Safety* of his Majesty’s *Person* and *Government*.

‘ Force and Violence are the Resort of Usurpers

Usurpers and Tyrants only. — I perceive some Gentlemen take Offence at my Words, and therefore, that they may not be misconstrued, I will repeat them. — I assert then, it is a grounded Maxim in Civil Science, that Force and Violence are the Resort of *Usurpers* and *Tyrants* only; because they are, with good Reason, *distrustful* of the People, whom they *oppress*; and because they have no other *Security* for the Continuance of their unlawful and unnatural Dominion, than what depends entirely on the *Strength* of their *Armies*.

‘ But it is the peculiar Happiness and Glory of *Great Britain* to be bless’d with a Prince, who wants *no such Support*; who reigns absolute in the *Hearts* of his *Subjects*; who prefers *their Ease* and *Interest* to the *Lustre* and *Grandeur* of his Crown; who sets them a Pattern of Prudence and Wisdom; whose Royal Goodness would be offended with continuing any *Tax*, or any *Burthen* upon them, but what is *requisite* to supply the *immediate Occasions* and *Necessities* of his Government.

‘ For these Reasons; Sir, I cannot assent to the Question. But, before I conclude, give me leave to say, there is an Article in the Estimate, under your Consideration, which I readily allow, in the midst of all
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my Frugality; tho' I must at the same time own, with those Gentlemen who dispute it, that it is a new *Item*, and an additional Article to the Estimate of the last Year; I mean the Salary of 200 l. for the Physician of the Tower: For no Person, who shall hereafter have the Misfortune to be confined there, on any Account whatsoever, should want proper Assistance in case of Sickness. Members of this House have been frequently sent thither, and for very different Reasons. Some for *speaking freely*, others for *acting corruptly*. Now, as it is uncertain of what Denomination the Member, or any other Gentleman may be, who shall next be committed to that State-Prison, let us give an Instance of our general Compassion, and not grudge so trifling a Sum for so charitable a Purpose.'

It is needless to take any farther Notice of the Event of these *annual Questions*, since every Reader is, before Hand, acquainted with it.

His Majesty in his most gracious Speech had express'd his royal Compassion for the *Hardships of the poor Artificers and Manufacturers*, and recommended their Case to the Consideration of his Parliament.

In Pursuance of this Recommendation, the Parliament thought proper to abolish
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the Duty on *Salt*, after the maturest Deliberation, as the most *oppressive Tax* and what would best answer his *Majesty's Intentions*. At this Time, every Tax, that was thought would give most Relief to the Subject, was fully considered, and the Minister then profess'd, *That He had no Opinion of his own, but should leave it to others to do as They thought fit, in this Case*. The only Thing He then fear'd was, That we could not spare enough out of the *sinking Fund* to redeem this Duty, since it might reduce it below a *Million*: But he was so far convinc'd at last that it was the most eligible Tax to be taken off, for the Ease of the People, that He *divided for it Himself*.

The Parliament, however, were induc'd to give the *Salt Duty* the Preference, at that Time, for the following Reasons.

1. Because *Salt* was of general Use amongst all Sorts of People; a common Necessary of Life, in the strictest Sense; and therefore in Fact, a Tax upon *Salt* was a Tax upon *Provisions*.

2. Because the Duty upon *Salt* amounted to ten Times as much as it cost at the Pits, which is not above a *Groat* a Bushel, and swelled it to, at least, four Shillings above its intrinsic Value at *London*; for, as

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the Price of *Salt* here, at that Time, was Five Shillings a Bushel, the *Duty* was 3 s. 4 d. and it is well known that the *Dealers* always raise the Price above the *bare Duty*; especially when it is so very large and disproportion'd to the *Original Cost*.

3. Because it was a Burthen on the *poor Farmer*, who lived chiefly on *salt Provisions*, and besides, made Use of *Salt* to brine his *Corn*, and manure his *Land*; from whence it follows that it must affect *landed Men*, especiall Those, whose Estates lay in *grazing Farms*, and in many Places prevent the *Improvement of Land*.

4. Because it not only increas'd the Expence of victualling the Royal Navy, but was an heavy Burthen on the Navigation of this Kingdom, by which it affected the Merchants, already distrefs'd with too many Difficulties, Hardships, and Losses in their Trade, and thereby obliged Them to victual their Ships abroad, to the great Detriment of this Kingdom.

5. Because, notwithstanding the great Sum, which *this Tax* levied upon the *People*, it brought but an inconsiderable Part of it into the *Exchequer*, occasioned by the vast Expences of *collecting* it and *other Deductions*; which was also attended with

with the farther inconvenience of keeping up a great Number of *Excise Officers*, by no Means agreeable to the Inclinations, or compatible with the Interests of a Free People.

6. Because it was a Burthen upon our *Manufactures*, in many Particulars; such as *Leather, Glass Bottles, Earthen Ware, &c.*

7. Because it was liable to great *Frauds* and *Abuses*, by *false Drawbacks, Allowances* and *Deductions*, as all Taxes will be, which so much exceed the Value of the *Commodity*, and afford the *Dealers* so strong a Temptation.

For these and several other Reasons, which were offered to the same Purpose, the Parliament was induc'd, with almost universal Consent, to come to the following Resolution, which They afterwards pass'd into a Law, *viz.*

“ *Resolved*, That the several Duties upon *home-made Salt*, granted to the late King *William* and *Queen Mary*, by an Act of the 5th and 6th of their Reign, for a Term of Years, and since made *perpetual*; and also the additional Duties on all *Salt*, granted by an Act of the 9th and 10th Years of his said late Majesty King *William*, shall from and after the 25th Day of *Dec.*

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1730, cease, determine, and be no longer paid.

Thus were the People discharged from these *burthensome Duties*, in Pursuance of his Majesty's *gracious Intentions*, and at a Time, when our Affairs abroad were in the most *perplex'd and uncertain Situation*. This was a Matter of the greatest Comfort to a People groaning under *various Burthens*, and gave Them a pleasing Prospect that the first Opportunity would be taken to give Them farther Relief in *those Taxes*, which had any ways come in Competition with the *Salt*, when our Affairs should be settled into *Peace and Tranquility*. But how have we been deceived in our Expectations? And how true hath it proved, what We have always fear'd, that We should never get rid of *Excises*, when They are once laid on us? The only Instance of Relief, that We have been able to obtain from these *Burthens*, for many Years past, was this Abolition of the Duties on *Salt*; one of those Taxes, which had the terrible Word *forever* annex'd to it; and when We consider that it was look'd on as the most proper and necessary Relief in the Year 1730, I believe nobody could then imagine that it would be revived to the utmost Farthing in the Year 1732.

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To proceed : The Term, granted by Act of Parliament to the United *East-India* Company for possessing the Right of an exclusive Trade, was so near expiring, that several Merchants and others, applied themselves to obtain, by Parliament, the being incorporated, and vested with the whole Trade to the *East-Indies*, and elsewhere, in the same extensive Degree as was granted to the Company. Their Offer was to advance 3,200,000 *l.* to redeem the Fund and Trade of the present *East-India* Company, to be paid at five different Payments, between *March* 25, 1733, to *March* 25, 1735, and they proposed, not to trade with a Joint Stock, or in a Corporate Capacity, but to keep the Trade open to all the Subjects of *Great Britain*, upon License from such proposed new Company, to be granted to all his Majesty's Subjects desiring the same, on proper Terms and Conditions. But this Proposal was rejected ; and instead of that, it was agreed with the *East India* Company, to secure to them the full exclusive Trade to the *East Indies* till the Year 1766, upon the following Conditions. 1. That the *East India* Company should pay into the *Exchequer* the Sum of 200,000 *l.* towards the Supplies for the Year 1730, without any Interest, or Addition to their Capital Stock

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or

or Debt, for the same. 2. That the Company should consent to reduce their Annuity or yearly Fund of 160,000*l.* payable to them from the Public, to the Sum of 128,000*l.* 3. That after the Year 1766, their Right to the exclusive Trade should be liable (upon three Years Notice, and Re-payment of their Capital Stock of 3,200,000*l.*) to be taken away by Parliament.

There waslikewise an Act pass'd for raising Five Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds by *Exchequer* Bills, towards the Supply granted to his Majesty; and for the further Application of the Produce of the Sinking Fund.

By this Act the Commissioners of the Treasury were enabled before *Dec.* 25, 1730, to issue out *Exchequer* Bills to the Value of 550,000*l.* at the Rate of 3*l.* per Cent. per *Ann.* to be charged on the first Aids granted after *Sept.* 29, 1730; and till such Supplies be granted, to be charged on such Surplus Monies, as, after *March* 25, 1730, shall arise from the several Duties charged with the Annuity of 160,000*l.* payable to the *East India* Company, which shall be more, than sufficient to pay the Quarterly Payments, or be saved in any manner.

Besides this, it is order'd, That out of the Surplusses of the Sinking Fund arisen on St.

John.

John Baptist's Day, 1730, shall be issued to the *South Sea* Company at the said Feast Day, and afterwards Quarterly, such Monies as shall be on such Quarter Day in the *Exchequer*; for redeeming Part of the Annuities attending on the Capital Stock or Sum due to the Company, till the Payments shall amount in the Whole to 1,000,000 *l.* and that as such Payments shall be made, a proportional Part of the Capital Stock and Annuities shall cease for the Benefit of the Public.

But in this Act is farther contained an Appropriation of the Monies granted this Session, of which it may not be improper to mention the Particulars.

To the Navy was allow'd 853,786 *l.* To the Hospital at *Greenwich* 10,000 *l.* To the Office of Ordnance 94,000 *l.* For the Land Forces in *Great Britain*, *Guernsey* and *Jersey* 651,484 *l.* For the Garrisons and Provisions in the Plantations, *Minorca* and *Gibraltar* 160,235 *l.* For 12,000 *Hessians* 241,259 *l.* Towards making good the Deficiency of the Grants for 1729, 115,446 *l.* To Half-pay Officers 64,000 *l.* To Out-Pensioners of *Chelsea* Hospital 23,452 *l.* Towards maintaining the Forts of the *African* Company 10,000 *l.* For extraordinary Services not provided for by Parliament

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28,780 *l.*

28,780*l.* For a Year's Subsidy due to the Duke of *Wolfenbuttle* 2500*l.* For Officers Widows 1500*l.* For purchasing a Reversion of *Dougal Cutbbert*, in the *Fleet Prison* 2500*l.*

It was during this Session, also, that the famous Self-denying * *Pension-Bill* was, I think, for the first Time, brought in by Mr. *Sandys*; and after having pass'd the Lower House, by the *Permission* of the *Minister*, was rejected by the Upper; under what Influence, or Direction, I must not take upon me to explain.

I shall close my Remarks on this Session, with the Affair of *Dunkirk*, which, for
some

* This Bill provided, That no Member should sit, till they had first taken the following Oath:

I A. B. do solemnly and sincerely swear, that I have not directly or indirectly, any Pension during Pleasure, or for any Number of Years, or any Office in Part, or in the Whole, from the Crown, held for me, or for my Benefit, by any Person whatsoever; and I do solemnly and sincerely promise and swear, that I will not receive, accept or take, directly or indirectly, during the Time of my being a Member of this Parliament, any Pension during Pleasure, or for any Number of Years, or any other Gratuity or Reward whatsoever, or any Office from the Crown to be held for me, or for my Benefit, in Part, or in the Whole thereof, by any Person whatsoever, without signifying the same to this House within Fourteen Days after I have received or accepted the same, if the Parliament be then sitting, or within Fourteen Days after the next Meeting of the Parliament. So help me God.

It

some time past, had not only been publicly repair'd, but appear'd to be an *open Port* by † *Entries* in our own *Custom-house Books*, insomuch, that it became impossible any longer to forbear concluding, either that our Ministers had not been able to prevail on Those of *France* to stop this Violation of the *Treaty*, or else that they connived at it.

In this State of Things, and under such Apprehensions as these, some Members of the *House of Commons* resolv'd to lay this Matter before the *Committee of the Whole House*, appointed to take into Consideration the *State of the Nation*. The Importance of it did, in their Opinions, deserve the most solemn Proceedings, and the Nature of it required, that no more Time should be lost in stopping the Growth of an Evil,

It likewise enacted, That if any Member should accept of any Pension, &c. without signifying the same as aforesaid, He should be deem'd guilty of *wilful and corrupt Perjury*, and be incapable of taking, holding, or enjoying any Office. As also, That whoever should refuse or neglect taking this Oath, should lose his Seat, without any other Conviction or Proceeding, and should, over and above, forfeit 30 *l.* a Day for each Day, he should sit and vote as aforesaid, &c.

† *N. B.* The Entries of *Brandies* from thence were increas'd from 600 Tons, in the Year 1727, to above 1600 in the Year 1729; and the Entries of *Cambricks* from 18,500 Half-pieces to above 31,000 Half-pieces; and 160 Sail of Ships, from 30 to 60 Tons, were enter'd at the Custom-house from this Port in the Three Years from 1727 to 1729.
which

which became, by every Day's Delay, greater and harder to cure. They got, therefore, such Evidence of *particular Facts*, as they judged sufficient; and they concealed their Enquiries with all the Care they could, lest the Witnesses might be prevented, by *Power* or *Artifice*, from appearing; or when they did appear, from speaking as plainly and fully in *public*, as they had done in *private*. This Precaution, which is, or ought always to be taken in Cases of this Kind, was surely as necessary as ever, on the Occasion we speak of; and the Complaints, which have been made of it, are indeed below Animadversion.

When, in Consequence of these Measures, it was moved in the *Committee of the Whole House*, that some Persons, attending at the Door, should be called in, to give an Account of the Condition of the Port and Harbour of *Dunkirk* * * * * * attempted at first to hinder this Motion from passing; but the Sense and Inclination of the *Committee* running strongly against him, this Attempt failed of Success.

The *Witnesses* were called in; and they gave clear and distinct Accounts to the following Effect:

That the Port and Harbour of *Dunkirk*, which had been demolished in pursuance of the

the Treaty of *Utrecht*, so that the smallest Fishing-Boat could not go in to them a few Years ago, are now made capable of receiving great Numbers of Ships of considerable Burthen.—That from *sixty* to *eighty Vessels* are frequently to be seen there at a Time; and that the Port is capable of containing more than One Hundred and Fifty.—That, in order to make it so, the Sluice of *Furnes* has been re-established, and the Piles of the *Damme*, raised at the Time of the Demolition across the Entrance of the Harbour, have been pulled up.—That several Works, in which the Soldiers as well as other Persons were employ'd, have been carried on from Time to Time, for cleaning the Harbour; for hindring the Mud and Sand from coming in to it; for repairing the *Jetties*; for preventing the Tides from flowing across the Channel, and thereby keeping it choaked up; for making *Keys* where Goods are loaded and unloaded as commodiously as before the Demolition, and for procuring to this Port many other Conveniencies of Trade and Navigation.—That an *English-built Ship*, which trades from *Dunkirk* to *St. Domingo*, was actually in the Harbour lying at the Keys, besides several *Dutch* and other Ships, which trade to the *West-Indies*.—That Ships of Force
had

had been built and launch'd there lately, and one particularly in *January* last, which sailed out of the Harbour with *Twenty-four Guns mounted*, and is able to carry *Thirty-six*—In a Word, that some of the many Works which have been made for restoring the Harbour of *Dunkirk*, are already put into as good a Condition as ever; That the Trade of the Town is by these Means very much encreased within these two Years; and that the Pilots, who lie upon the Coast, refuse to carry Vessels any longer into the Canal of *Mardyke*, having Orders not to do it.—That the Canal of *Mardyke* is brought so near to the great Sluice, that by removing a small Quantity of Earth more, the whole Body of Water, which is at present carried into that Canal from those of *Berg* and the *Moere*, may be carried into the old Basin, and into that Part of the Harbour, where the Men of War formerly lay—Upon the whole Matter, That the Port of *Dunkirk* may now very soon, and at no great further Expence, be render'd as good, and perhaps better than it was before the Destruction of it, in all respects; except as to the *Fortifications*.—The *Witnesses* added, That these Works, which had been carried on, at first, with some kind of Privacy, were afterwards

wards continued without Disguise, and since last *August* with more Vigour than before; nay, that they were actually carrying on, notwithstanding the Badness of the Season, in *January* and *February* last.

The Witnesses, who proved these Facts, were *Masters of Vessels* and *others*, who make frequent Voyages to *Dunkirk*, and who spoke to nothing but what they had had frequent Occasions of observing; so that their Evidence was, upon a very *strict*, to use no harsher a Word, *Cross-Examination*, confirm'd in every Part, and supported in the strongest Manner.

As clear as it was, and as unquestionable as the Truth of it appeared to be, Reasons were urged why no *Resolutions* should be, at that Time, taken upon it. The Chief of these Reasons were, that Col. *Armstrong* had been lately sent to *France*; that his Presence would be necessary in a further Examination of this Matter; and that a Time ought therefore to be allow'd, in which he might be able to return; that several *Papers* would likewise be call'd for, to shew what had been lately transacted, and what Care the *Ministers* had taken about this Affair; and that the getting these *Papers* ready for the House would require Time also. These Reasons were acquiesced in,

in, tho' it was not hard to foresee what might be effected by *Delay*.

The *Committee* was adjourn'd; *Papers* were call'd for; the *Committee* was again put off on the same Pretences for a Fort-night; several *Papers* were brought; and, the Day before it was fit again, there were communicated to the House, by his Majesty's Command, Copies of a * *Letter from the D. of N. to Mr. † Pointz*; of an Answer from Mr. *Pointz*; and of the following *Order* obtain'd from the *Court of France*.

By the KING.

“THE *Sieur* — Capt. of his Majesty's Ships, is order'd to repair
 “ immediately to the Port of *Dunkirk*, there
 “ to draw up an exact State of the present
 “ Condition of the Channel and Port of the
 “ said Town, and to make his Report
 “ thereof. His Majesty enjoins the said
 “ *Sieur* to cause to be demolish'd all the
 “ Works that may have been erected in
 “ Contravention to the Treaty of *Utrecht*
 “ and of the *Hague*, Copy whereof He will
 “ find hereunto annexed. His Majesty

* The Duke's Letter to *Pointz* and *Armstrong* was dated February the 12th, 1729-30.

† *Pointz* and *Armstrong*'s Letter to the Duke was from Paris $\frac{1}{2}$ th February, 1729-30.

“ com-

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“ commands and orders the Governor,
“ Commandant of the Place, the Inten-
“ dants, Engineers, and all other his Offi-
“ cers and Subjects to give all the necessary
“ Assistance in the Execution of the pre-
“ sent Order, in Case of Need. Done at
“ *Versailles* the 27th of *February*, 1730.
“ Sign’d *Lewis*, and underneath *Phely-*
“ *peaux*.”

Our *Ministers* seem’d to applaud themselves very much on the Success of their last Application to the *French Court*; and it was talk’d of, in a triumphant Stile, as if there remain’d no Pretence for proceeding to any further Examination of the present State of *Dunkirk*. But surely this was unreasonable on all Accounts; since, if there was any Merit in obtaining this *Piece of Paper* from *France*, the Merit belong’d to those worthy *Gentlemen*, who brought this Affair before the *House of Commons*, and in no sort to the *Ministers*. Besides which, even upon the Supposition that *France* had now given us full Satisfaction, and a full Security that *Dunkirk* should be once more demolish’d, according to the Terms of the *Treaties* of *Utrecht* and the *Hague*, it was still proper and necessary too that the *Committee* should proceed; because it was proper and necessary to discover how it had come
to

to pass that the Harbour of *Dunkirk* had been, for so *long a Time*, repairing without any effectual Opposition on our Parts. No honest Man, who is acquainted with the Constitution of Parliament, and who knows what the Proceedings of the *House of Commons* have been in the *best Times*, will contradict me in this. Permit me to add, that the Facility and Expedition, with which the *French* consented, upon this Occasion, to their *last Order*, administer'd more than ordinary Cause to suspect, *that they had never been pressed much upon this Head before.*

When the House came again into the *Committee of the State of the Nation*, they had before them, besides the *two Letters* of our Ministers and the Answer just procured from *France*, several of the Papers, which had been call'd for, and the Evidence of some *fresh Witnesses* produced by those Gentlemen, who had produced the *former.*

I say *several of the Papers which had been call'd for*; because, altho' the Papers call'd for by * * * * were all brought in; yet of those, which had been call'd for by *others*, some were kept back, under a Pretence that they could not be found in the Offices; and *others*, it was said, would require a great deal of Time to copy.

The

The Papers call'd for by * * * * and deliver'd in, were generally *Extracts of Letters*; So that, if one were to suppose an Intention to *conceal* any Circumstances from the Knowledge of the *House*, this Method would give a sufficient Opportunity of doing it; notwithstanding which, these very *Papers*, imperfect as they were, *confirm'd* and *strengthened* all the Evidence given at the Bar.

But however clear the Evidence was, however notorious the Facts, however deeply both the Honour and Interest of the Nation were concern'd in the Event of the Debate, *Dunkirk* continued to be a *Port*, our Minister preserv'd his Ascendancy in the Cabinet, and the Two Courts of *St. James's* and *Versailles*, remain'd, for a while longer, as closely united, as before.

May 15, His Majesty clos'd the Session with a most gracious Speech, in which, besides the usual Acknowledgments, for the usual Supplies, &c. are to be found the following remarkable Paragraphs.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I am very glad, that, for the general Satisfaction, you enter'd into a particular Consideration of the *State of the Nation*; and it is a great Happiness to see, after so

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many *unjust* and *unreasonable Clamours*, raised with all possible Art, Industry, and Malice, that, upon mature Deliberation, and the most solemn Debates, you were so far from finding *any Thing* worthy of *Blame* or *Censure*, that *all Matters* which came under your *Consideration*, met with your *Approbation*.

This must give all Mankind a *just* Detestation of those *Incendiaries*, who, from a Spirit of Envy and Discontent, continually labour, by *scandalous Libels*, to alienate the Affections of my People, and to fill their Minds with *groundless* Jealousies and unjust Complaints, in Dishonour of me and my Government, and in Defiance of the *Sense* of *both Houses* of Parliament.

But I must rely upon your Prudence, and your Concern for the Peace and Happiness of your Country, to *discountenance* all such *seditious Practices*, and to make my People sensible, that these wicked Proceedings can have no other View or End, but to create *Confusion* and *Distraction* among us."

Nothing very material happen'd during the Recess: Affairs continued in a doubtful Situation between Peace and War, as they had continued for several Years past, till the Parliament was on the Point of
meeting

meeting again: About which Time a * private Negotiation at *Vienna*, between *Great Britain* and the *Emperor*, began to get Air, and was first hinted to the Public, in the famous *Hague Letter* printed in the *Craftsman*, which was afterwards sentenced as a *Libel*. But of this Negotiation more anon.

Jan. 21, His Majesty open'd the 1730 31.
Fourth Session of his First Parliament with a gracious Speech, signifying,
" That the Treaty of *Seville* had defeated the Treaty of *VIENNA* : That the Allies of *Hanover* were strengthened with the additional Power of *SPAIN*; That this Situation of Affairs gave us a reasonable Prospect of a general Pacification, &c. But that the

* It may be necessary to remind the Reader, That the 4th Article of the *Hanover Treaty* is conceiv'd in the following Terms :

" And as the said *three most serene Kings* are resolved to bind more and more closely the strict Union, that subsists amongst Them, by all possible Tokens of *good Faith* and *mutual Confidence*, They have reciprocally agreed, not only to enter into no *Treaty, Alliance, or Engagement* whatever, which may, in any Manner whatever, be contrary to the *Interests of each other* ; but even faithfully to COMMUNICATE to each other the Proposals, that may be made to Them, and not to take, upon what may be proposed, ANY Resolution, otherwise than in Concert together; and after a joint Examination of what may conduce to their common Interests, and be proper for maintaining the Balance of *Europe*, which is so necessary to be preserved for the Good of the general Peace."

E e 2

Treaty

Treaty of *Seville* lays an indispensable Obligation upon all the contracting Parties to prepare for the Execution of it; and that we *must* be in a Readiness to perform our Parts, &c. That He was incapable of attempting to influence our Proceedings by groundless Fears and Apprehensions, and as incapable of amusing us with vain Hopes and Expectations: But that as the Transactions now depending in the several Courts of *Europe* were upon the Point of being determin'd, the great Event of Peace and War may be very much affected by our first Resolutions, &c. That the Plan of Operations for the Execution of the Treaty of *Seville*, by *Force*, in case we shall be driven to that *Necessity*, was then under Consideration; and, that, until the Proportions of the Confederate Forces; and the proper Dispositions for employing them, shall be finally adjusted and agreed upon, it would not be easy to determine how FAR the Expences necessary for the Service of the ensuing Year *might*, or *might* not, EXCEED the Provisions made for the Service of the last Year, &c."

Thus we have the highest Authority, that Designs had been entertain'd to reduce the *Emperor* by *Force*, (or at least, that we were to be led into that Belief.) But Measures of this Kind appear'd so irreconcilable

to the ancient Policy of this Kingdom, that the Gentlemen then in the Opposition, immediately took the Alarm, and endeavour'd to temper the Overflowings of the Address of Thanks, with a wholesome Caution, 'That his Majesty would take Care that no War should be carry'd on in *Flanders*, or upon the *Rhine*,' alledging, among other Things, "That the preventing a War either in *Flanders*, or upon the *Rhine*, in Conjunction with the *French*, could tend to nothing but the Ruin of that Balance of Power in *Europe*, which with Difficulty we had at last established, after a ten Years bloody and expensive War : That in the present Conjunction of the Affairs of *Europe*, the Balance of *Europe*, by our being beaten, might suffer, by our being victorious, it would be entirely destroy'd, and lost, perhaps, for ever.

But neither these Reasonings, nor the Caution above-mention'd proving palatable to the Majority, another Amendment was offered to the Address, viz. "That they " would support his Majesty's Engagements, " so far as they related to the *Interest* of " *Great Britain*;" tho' with no better Success than the former ; Those in Power would hear of no Restrictions ; his Majesty was to be complimented thro' thick and thin, and it was done accordingly.

E e 3

Upon

Upon the same Principles, that the Address of Thanks was carry'd in this outrageously-loyal Manner, the Estimate for the *Army* and the *Navy*, the Subsidies for the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and his Highness of *Wolfenbuttel* were carry'd likewise. The Necessity of *compelling the* EMPEROR to *come in*, was the grand Pretence for every Demand, and the grand Silencer of all Opposition.

It appear'd, however, not a little extraordinary to those without Doors at least, that, in the very same *Session*, when his Majesty, in his Speech from the *Throne*, had declared, That the *Allies of Hannover* were *strengthened* with the additional Power of *Spain*, the Merchants of *Great Britain* should complain to their Representatives of the *Depredations* which the *Spaniards* still * *continued* to commit upon the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom.

An Address in † *general Terms*, was voted and presented in their Behalf, and a gra-

* They had preferred the like Complaints in 1728-29, which extorted an Address to the Throne in their Favour ; to which his Majesty was pleas'd to answer, *That he would use his best Endeavours to answer the Desires and Expectations of his People, upon an Affair of such Importance.*

† The following Words having been offer'd by way of Amendment, *viz. And to procure a full, prompt, and speedy Satisfaction*, it was carry'd in the Negative, by 207 against 135.
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cious Answer in Terms *as general* was return'd by his Majesty; of what Significancy we shall see by and by.

This, however, appears to be the only Favour which was granted to the Subject, during this whole Session, except the Bill directing all Law Proceedings to be made for the future in *English*, should be thought worthy of that Name.

It is true, the *Pension-Bill* was likewise pass'd by the Commons; but then it was rejected by the Lords: And when a Motion was made by Mr. *Sandys*, for a Committee to enquire, whether any Member had directly or indirectly any Pension or Office, holden in *Trust* for them, it was carry'd in the Negative by 206 against 143. As was another, *To prevent the * Translation of Bishops*; and likewise a Third, for an Address, 'That his Majesty would be graciously pleased, for the Ease of his Subjects of this Kingdom, to give Orders for the Discharging the 12000 *Hessians* in the Pay of *Great Britain*.

May 7, His Majesty put an End to the Session, with a gracious Speech, signifying, That he had made up with the Emperor,

* One of those Right Reverend ***** had just before publicly pleaded for the *Dependency* of Parliaments.

‘ upon such Conditions and Engagements as are agreeable to that necessary Concern, which this Nation must always have for the Security and Preservation of the *Balance of Power in Europe*, &c.

His Majesty, likewise, bestow'd some Expressions of Acknowledgment to the Commons for their *effectual Supplies, remarkable Dispatch, Unanimity*, &c. put in a farther Caveat about a *Spirit of Discontent, unjust Clamours, Misrepresentations*, &c. adding, ‘ All malicious Insinuations to the Prejudice of my Measures, must surely vanish, when it shall appear that my FIRST and PRINCIPAL CARE has been for the *Interest and Honour* of this Kingdom.’

We have already seen, that, by the very same Bargain which we had struck, to purchase the *additional Strength* of Spain to the *Allies of Hanover*, we provok'd the Indignation of the Emperor : And to pacify him again, we were forced to accept of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, which we had formerly refus'd to treat about ; and had, on all Occasions, spoken of as as a Measure dangerous, if not fatal to the *Balance of Europe*.

It was upon that Condition, we had patch'd up our Quarrel with his *Imperial Majesty*. But even this was not submitted to,

to, till the Demands of *Hanover* had been *first* adjusted, * Positive Orders, as 'tis affirm'd, having been sent to the *English* Minister, NOT to sign the *English* Treaty, till the *Hanover* Minister at *Vienna* declar'd himself satisfy'd.

The Settlement of the Tranquility of the NORTH was the great Point in View: And to this End, the Investitures of *Bremen*, *Verden*, and *Saxe-Lauenberg* were granted. *Hanover* consented to evacuate *Mecklenbûrgh*, and to give up all its Claims upon that Duchy: In 'return for which, *To preserve the Peace of LOWER-SAXONY*, and put an End to the CAUSE of Troubles in the *North*, the *Emperor* and *Russia* guaranty'd *Sleswick*, May 26, 1731, to the King of *Denmark*, on Condition, that one Million of Rix-Dollars was pay'd to the Duke of *Holstein*, as an Equivalent.

And all these great Ends were obtain'd by, and depended upon *England's* guarantying the *Pragmatic Sanction*.

It hath been already hinted, That this whole Affair was transacted without the Participation of *France* or *Spain*, tho'

* See the FARTHER VINDICATION of the Case of the
HANOVER Troops.

against

against an express Provision in the Treaty of *Hanover* before quoted; And it is farther remarkable, That tho' the States-General were included in the Treaty between the *Emperor* and *Great Britain*, not one of these Powers is mention'd in it; which seem'd to be somewhat extraordinary as to *Spain*, at least, since the Introduction of *Spanish* Garrisons into *Italy*, with the *Emperor's* Consent, made one of the principal Stipulations of this *new Treaty*; nay, what is still more surprizing, it was with extreme Difficulty that the Court of *Madrid* was brought into it at last; and even then not without insisting on several Alterations in the *Act of Approbation*; one of which, was, That the Introduction of *Don Carlos* with 6000 *Spanish* Troops into *Italy*, should be effectuated PREVIOUSLY to the Execution of any Engagements on their Part; however, They might stand PRIOR in the Treaty of *Seville*; which, by the Way, was concluded above a *Year and an half* before. The *Dutch* were still more backward in their Accession, and did not accede at last without some * *wise Restrictions*. As for the Court of *France*, They

* *Rousses*, Tom. ii. p. 343. 4to. Edit.

were

were so far from listening to any Sollicitations on this Head, that they exerted their utmost Endeavours to prevent the Concurrence of *Spain*. Nay, They express'd such a Resentment both against the *Treaty* itself, and the *Manner* of negotiating it, that We apprehended nothing less than an *Invasion* from *Dunkirk*, where some Troops were assembled. This struck us, all on a sudden, with such a Terror, that the Coasts of *Kent* were immediately cover'd with Regiments of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, who were order'd to march thither, with the utmost Precipitation, from all Parts of the Kingdom; and the Fluctuation, which such an Alarm naturally occasioned in our *Stocks*, afforded the Caterpillars of the *Alley* a plentiful Harvest.

However, these Apprehensions being soon dissipated, Sir *Charles Wager* was again dispatch'd to the Coasts of *Spain* with a large Squadron of *English* Ships, in order to wait upon *Don Carlos* and the *Spanish* Troops to his new Dominions. The *Admiral's Ship* was fitted out in a most splendid and costly Manner, for the Reception of his *serene Highness*; but after a Course of pompous Compliments and Visits between the *Commander of the Spanish Fleet* and our *Admiral*, upon his Arrival at *Cadiz*,
and

and the same Honours having, been afterwards paid him at the Court of *Seville*, his *Catholic Majesty* was pleased to discharge Him from the Trouble of taking *Don Carlos* under his Care, and required no more at his Hands than to convoy the *Spanish* Troops to *Italy*, in Conjunction with his own *Admiral*.

As we were labouring thus earnestly and effectually for the Service of *Spain*, it was but natural to expect, that *Spain* would have been induc'd in Return, to make some Concessions to us.

However, ineffectually, our suffering Merchants had both Times apply'd to Parliament, our Ministers became sensible that something should be done; and therefore, they proposed * that a Convention should be made with *Spain* concerning these Grievances.

Our Minister at the Court of *Spain* accordingly presented a Project of a Declaration to *Monf. Patinbo* † : But finding that he objected to one Part of it, that prohibited *Spain* from authorizing their Officers in the *Indies* to give Commissions for *Guarda Costa's*, our supple Minister immediately submits, and very readily presents him with another Project, which, in his Opinion, we are told, is entirely agreeable to our Trea-

* D. of N. Lett. Aug. 3, 1731.

† Mr. K. Lett. Oct. 30. Nov. 14, 1731.

ties,

ties, and to the Orders that have been sent to the *West Indies*. This last Project Mr. *Patinbo* said would pass with some few Alterations in the Expressions, and the Marquis *de la Paz* likewise approved of it; what it produced we shall see presently.

At this Time our Ministers inform Mr. *Keene*, ‡ “ That, far from the Disorders ceasing, the Number of *Spanish* Privateers, or rather Pirates, under the Denomination of *Guarda Costa's*, encreases daily; and that the Gain which the *Spanish* Governors in *America* make by countenancing these unlawful Practices, and sometimes being themselves Sharers in the fitting out of those Privateers, is such a Temptation, that unless the Court of *Spain* takes some more effectual Method, as by punishing those who have most notoriously offended that Way, and making them answerable for the *Disorders* and *Irregularities* committed by Ships to which they grant Commissions, or which are harboured in their Ports with Impunity, there will never be an End of their unjustifiable, and, as it too frequently happens, barbarous Practices.” And about a Month after || they order him, “ to observe to the *Spanish* Ministers, that a Ship's having been employed in an unlawful Trade, is a Pre-

‡ D. of N. Lett. Nov. 18, 1731.

|| D. of N. Lett. Dec. 9. 1731.

tence

tence that will always be alledged. He is to put them in mind of the undue and indeed barbarous Methods used by the Captors to procure pretended Proofs of such unlawful Trade, as the putting *clandestinely Spanish Money or Goods* on board, and the cajoling some of the Crew, and even using Threats and Torture to make them give *false Evidence* against their Captains and Owners ;” and he is to insist, “ That such Practices may be prevented and punished ; and where it plainly appears upon the State of the Case, that there is no Colour for this Allegation of unlawful Commerce, the Order may be positive for immediate Restitution.”

I have quoted the *very Words* of these Letters, lest I should be accused by those unacquainted with the History of the late Administration, of charging our Ministers with Negligence too gross for any Men who undertake the Conduct of the Affairs of a Nation.

In *January 1732*, a Month after the last of these Letters, Mr. * *Keene* tells us, that he talked *in the most serious Manner* to Monsieur *Patinbo* : And surely when the Ruin of our Merchants had made him serious too, we had Reason to hope for some Effect from his Negotiations. He shewed Mons.

* Mr. K. Lett. Jan. $\frac{17}{2}$, 1732.

Patinbo,

Patinbo, "That the stale Excuse of not having *Autos*, or the *clogging* Clause, if there has been no unlawful Commerce, were so many Evasions from doing us Justice, and this last was *dictating Chicanes* to those whose Interest in the Prizes made such an Encouragement unnecessary."

Upon this *serious* and true Representation, Monsieur *Patinbo* proposed to give a general *Cedula* that should order immediate Satisfaction for our Complaints, and that the *Spanish* Governors should give Testimonies of all that passed. And accordingly he gave a *Cedula*, containing, says Mr. *Keene*, "stronger and more effectual Orders than I have yet been able to procure. But I cannot get rid of the *clogging* Clause, the Exemption of which they say would give a Handle to the Governors themselves to follow their Inclination to follow a contraband Trade."

What strong and effectual Orders Mr. *Keene* obtained by his *serious* Conversation, will appear by the *Cedula* itself. But why he appears so exalted with it, notwithstanding the *clogging* Clause it contained, which, to use his own Words, "was *dictating Chicanes* to those whose Interest in the Prizes made such an Encouragement unnecessary," can only be guessed at by comparing the
Date

Date of his Letter, with the usual Time of the meeting of the Parliament in *England*.

The *Cedula* is from the King of *Spain* to his Governors ‡ in *America*. He commands them not to suffer any of his Subjects to molest or *abuse* the *English*, or any of their Ships that shall sail in these Seas, *so long as they keep in their proper Distances, and are not concerned in any illicit Trade*. This the *Spaniards* graciously *proposed*, and our Ministers joyfully accepted.

However, the *Convention* which I have already observed, was proposed by our Ministers to remedy all these Grievances, was soon afterwards concluded. It is called a Declaration, and was signed the 8th of *February* 1732, by the *British* and *Spanish* Ministers at *Seville*. By this Declaration it is agreed, " That whenever any *Spanish* Privateers shall have Leave to fit out for Sea, in order to prevent contraband Trade, pursuant to the Laws and Ordinances of the *Indies*, which have not been derogated from by the Treaties, they shall be obliged to give Security, in the Presence of the Governor of the Place from whence they shall sail, to be answerable for any Damages they

‡ *January* 10. 1732.

may

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may unjustly occasion; and in Default of sufficient Security, the Governors themselves shall be answerable for whatever may happen.' And his *Britannic* Majesty promises to 'forbid; and effectually to prevent, his Ships of War from conveying or protecting, under any Pretence whatsoever, Ships carrying on an unlawful Trade on the Coasts of his *Catholic* Majesty.'

While our Public Affairs were in this Situation, his Majesty open'd ^{1731-32.} the *Fifth* * Session, with a gracious Speech, in which, after expatiating upon the many Difficulties which he had to surmount, before he could conclude the late Treaty of *Vienna*, and the Calamities which that Treaty had prevented, he proceed as follows. 'When this shall be duly consider'd, 'and it shall be seen, That the Wounds, 'which have been *long bleeding*, are EN- 'TIRELY HEAL'D, *groundless* Jealousies will 'cease, ill Humours will subside, and Peace 'and good Harmony return together, &c.'

* It ought to be remember'd, That, during the preceding Summer, his Majesty, with his *own Hand*, struck the Name of *William Pulteney*, Esq; out of the Council-Books, and order'd him to be put out of all Commissions of the Peace, and of the Lieutenantcy; which was likewise set forth in the *London Gazette*, July 1.

In acknowledgment of these and the like gracious Expressions, the Lord *Hervey* mov'd for an Address, 'full of the *bigbest* 'Satisfaction, in seeing the general Tran-
'quility of *Europe* restor'd, and establish'd
'by his Majesty's Credit and *Influence*, with
'so much *Glory* to the Crown of *Great Bri-*
'tain and *Honour* to this Nation, &c.'

But many Members appear'd to be of a different Opinion from his Lordship. Mr. *Shippen* in particular, declar'd himself to be so little of a Courtier, That he could not return Thanks for what he knew nothing of, nor applaud without a Reason; and Mr. *Pulteney* express'd himself as follows: "Supposing that all is now right with us, I am certain there was a Time some Years ago, when we might have been as Right as we are now, and upon the *same Conditions*: If we had embraced that Opportunity, a great deal of Money would have been saved to the Nation, but in those Days, the *Guaranty* of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, was looked on as *inconsistent* with the Interest and Happiness of this Nation, and was *represented* as such, even by those who have now agreed to it; what were their Reasons for representing it in such a hideous Shape at that Time, and for placing it now in so amiable a View, I cannot

cannot comprehend: For my own Part, Sir, I do not see any *Necessity* we were under of agreeing to it, even at this *present Time*; by our agreeing to that *Guaranty*, we lay ourselves under an *Obligation* of assisting the *Austrian* Family whenever they shall be attacked by any Potentate whatever, except the *Grand Signior*: They may happen to be attacked, when it will be much AGAINST the Interest of this Nation, to engage itself in a War upon ANY FOREIGN ACCOUNT; and if they should acquire many more Territories, it may be for the Interest of the Nation even to join in the Attack, in Order to preserve the Balance of *Europe*, the Establishing of which has already cost us such immense Sums of Money. Thus we may be obliged either to engage in a War *contrary* to the *Interest* and *Well being* of our Country, or otherwise be guilty of a Breach of Faith, to the eternal Dishonour of the Nation.'

The whole Debate was long, vehement, and, like all others of the same Tendency, fruitless; for in the End, *Honour* and *Glory* carry it, even without a Division.

But tho' the Establishment of the Tranquility of *Europe*, was allow'd so much Weight in the Decision of this Question,

to the Advantage of the Court, we shall find it was but a Feather in the Scale of the People.

Jan. 26. The House went into the usual Committee upon the Army, when the Secretary at War (Sir *William Strickland*) mov'd, That the Number of effective Men for the Year 1732 might be 17,709, Officers included.

This was warmly and vigorously oppos'd by many Members, and in particular Sir *William Wyndham* observ'd, "That his Majesty had assured them from the Throne, That the Expectations he had given us from Time to Time of seeing the general Tranquillity of *Europe* restored and established, are fully answer'd. What then," continued he, "have we *more* to expect? Do we hope ever to see a Time when *all* the Powers of *Europe* will be even to ourward Appearance so *fully* satisfied and pleased, that no Jealousies nor private Animosities do seem to remain? The Hope is *vain*; the Thing is *impossible*; for those very Measures which make one easy, will always give some Appearance of Disquiet to another; besides, the Ambition of Princes is such, that no general Satisfaction can be expected, nor can a profound Tranquillity be hoped for to remain for any Time without some

Distur-

Disturbance. Either now is a proper Time for us to reduce a Part of our Army, or such a Time will never happen, and this Nation must always be obliged to be at the Expence of maintaining a numerous Regular Army, and lie exposed to have its Liberties and Privileges *trampled* upon by the Means of that Army, whenever we shall have a King weak or ambitious enough, or a Ministry wicked enough *to engage* in such Measures.”

“A much less Number than we have at present, have been found sufficient to guard us both against Invasions from abroad, and Insurrections at home, even in the Time of open War: During the whole Course of the long Wars we had in the Reigns both of King *William* and Queen *Anne*, a Body of 6 or 7000 Men was thought all that was requisite to be kept in this Nation, for guarding us against all the Attempts of our Enemies, Foreign or Domestic; and this small Body of Men, with the Affections of the People, appeared to be so sufficient for the Purpose designed, that the United Powers of *France* and *Spain* never durst venture to make an Invasion upon us; nay, they never so much as attempted it but once, and then they did it in such a faint Manner, as shewed they were afraid of

the Success of what they were going about; Yet every one knows what an Advantage it would have then been to the *French Cause*, if they could have made a Diverſion by landing a Body of Troops in this Iſland."

"I join with the worthy Member who ſpoke laſt, in Opinion, That the Affections of the People ought to be meaſured by the Affections of their Representatives in Parliament; it has always been ſo hitherto; the Subjects, when they ſuſpected that the Crown was making any Encroachments upon their Liberties, always pleaſed themſelves with the Thoughts that they would find a ſure Redreſs from their *Representatives* aſſembled in Parliament; upon them they always depend for a certain Remedy for all their real or even imaginary Wrongs; but if this Houſe ſhall thus from Year to Year agree to the Continuance of a Standing Army, I am afraid this will no longer continue to be a Rule for meaſuring the Peoples Affections: The People will begin to look upon us, not as their *Representatives*, or as the *Guardians* of their *Liberties*, but as the *inſignificant Tools of a Court*, and the *hireling Supporters* of an *Administration*."

It is needleſs to add any Thing farther upon this Head. The Committee divided
upon

upon the Question, and it was carry'd in the Affirmative by 241 against 171.

The next Day, a Motion was made by Mr. *Pulteney*, to address his Majesty for an Account of what Commissions in the Army had been kept vacant, and what Savings had been made therein ; But on Sir *R. W*'s declaring, That such Savings were insignificant ; and that they were disposed of in Charities, by his Majesty, to those in the Army who were proper Objects, it pass'd in the *Negative*.

About this Time a remarkable Enquiry was made in the House of Commons upon the following Occasion : The Estate of *James*, late Earl of *Derwentwater*, who was concerned in the Rebellion in 1715, had been so settled, that upon the Death of his Son *John*, then a Child, without Issue-Male, the Remainder was to devolve upon his younger Brother *Charles Ratcliffe* ; But this Brother, *Charles Ratcliffe*, being also engaged in the said Rebellion, had thereby forfeited such his Expectation of that Estate ; which was sold, by the Commissioners and Trustees of the forfeited Estates which devolved to the Crown upon that Occasion, for the Sum of 1060 *l*. This Purchase was at that Time not taken Notice of ; but the above-mentioned *John*, Earl of *Derwent-*
F f 4 *water,*

water, dying in the 18th Year of his Age, the Estate fell of Course to those who had bought that forfeited Reversion; and being reckoned at the Value of 8 or 9000 *l. per Ann.* it caused great Notice to be taken of the good Fortune of those Purchasers. But some Circumstances also occurring, that bred Suspensions about the Methods used in gaining so great a Bargain, it was thought to deserve the Animadversion of the House of Commons, who appointed a Committee to examine into the Proceedings that passed between the Commissioners and the Purchasers on that Occasion. The Committee accordingly brought in their Report, which shewed there was but too much Ground for those Jealousies; and upon which the House came to the following Resolutions:

Resolved, *Nem. Con.* I. That on the 30th of July, 1723, *Matthew White, Esq;* was declared the Purchaser of an Annuity of 200 *l.* during the Life of *Charles Ratcliffe*, issuing out of the Estate of *James* late Earl of *Derwentwater*, with all the Arrears thereof from his Attainder, for 1201 *l. 1 s.* without due Notice of Time or Place for exposing such Annuity to Sale, and without the Presence of a sufficient Number of Commissioners and Trustees, as required by the Act appointing such Commissioners

missioners and Trustees. II. That * *William Smith*, Esq; did on the 11th Day of *July* 1723, for the Consideration of 1060*l.* contract for an Estate of *James* late Earl of *Derwentwater*, mentioned, in a Particular, published by the said Commissioners and Trustees, to be of the annual Value of 5013 *l.* subject to the Annuities and Incumbrances in the said Particular mentioned, and to be sold during the Continuance of an Estate in Tail-Mail, vested in *Charles Ratcliffe* in Remainder, Expectant on the Death of *John Ratcliffe* under Age, and without Issue-Male, which Contract was, on the 30th of the same *July*, vacated and torn out of the Book of Contracts, and a new one then procured and dated as on the 11th, by which the said *William Smith* not only obtained the said Remainder in Tail, but also the Reversion in Fee of the said Estate for the same Sum of 1060 *l.* although a sufficient Number of Commissioners and Trustees, as required by Act of Parliament, was not

* In Trust for the Es's. And 'tis remarkable that when *Mr. Smith*, attended the Committee, they did not think fit to oblige him to be examin'd; but left it in his own Option, whether He would be examin'd or not; and he chose the Last.

present

present, either on the 11th or 30th of the said *July*, nor had any Notice been given of exposing to Sale the Reversion in Fee of the said Estate. III. That *Matthew White* and *William Smith*, Esqs; were present on the 30th of the said *July*, when *Samuel Allen*, Secretary to the Commissioners and Trustees, signed the Names of Sir *Thomas Hales* and Sir *John Eyles* to the respective pretended Contracts, made with the said *White* and *Smith* on the said 30th of *July*, when no Commissioner and Trustee, but *Dennis Bond*, Esq; and *John Birch*, Serjeant at Law, were present. IV. That the contracting for the Sale of the aforesaid Estates, by a less Number of the Commissioners and Trustees than Four, and the not giving Fifteen Days Notice at least of such Sales, was a manifest Violation of the Act of Parliament for the Sale of the said Estates, highly injurious to the Public, and a notorious Breach of the Trust reposed in such Commissioners and Trustees: After which Serjeant *Birch* and *Dennis Bond* were expell'd; Sir *J. Eyles* was reprimanded, and the Sale was made void.

During this Session likewise, the famous Affair of the *Charitable Corporation* was brought into Parliament; and furnish'd out a fresh Instance, That Breach of Trust in
this

this Country, was held but a venial Fault; and That Frauds and Corruptions of almost any Kind would never want a Skreen.

It is proper to be observ'd, That this Corporation was first erected in the Year 1707; their professed Intention was to lend Money, at legal Interest, to the Poor upon small Pledges; and to Persons of better Rank, upon an answerable Security of Goods; and their Capital was then limited to 30,000 *l.* In the Year 1722, the Crown gave Licence to them to encrease the same to 100,000 *l.* and again, in 1728, they received Licence for a Capital of 300,000 *l.* and, in 1730, for 600,000 *l.* This Charter being granted to the Corporation, they made Application to have the same confirmed by Act of Parliament in the last Session, and a Bill for that Purpose passed the House of Commons; but there was such vigorous Opposition made to it, that it was dropt in the House of Lords. However, upon the Support of the Royal Charter, the Corporation went on; but in *October* 1731, two of their Chief Officers, viz. *George Robinson*, Esq; Member for *Marlow*, their Cashier, and Mr. *John Thompson*, their Warehouse-keeper, disappear'd on the same Day. This gave the Proprietors a very great Alarm; and three
several

several General Courts were held, in which a Committee was appointed, from among the chief Proprietors, to inspect the State of their Affairs. By the Report brought in by that Committee it was found, That for a Capital of above 500,000 *l.* no Equivalent was found to the Value of 30,000 *l.* the Remainder having been disposed of, by Ways that no one was able to give Account of.

This Affair was first brought into the House by Petition; and a Motion was thereupon made, That it should be referred to a Committee of Secrecy, which was overruled by 212 against 132.

A Committee, however, was appointed, who presented such a Report of Frauds, Abuses, and Mismanagements, That *George Robinson* the Cashier was first expelled, and afterwards *Sir Robert Sutton* and *Sir Archibald Grant*, two of the Managers of the said Corporation.

Many other Persons, likewise, underwent the Censure of the House; but tho' the Facts were so flagrant, it was not without some Difficulty, that a Resolution was obtain'd, That the Persons who had committed the Injury, *ought to make Satisfaction for the same.*

So

So unwilling were * *certain Persons* to suffer any such Thing as a Precedent of *Restitution* to take place.

But we are now to take our Leave of private Iniquities, and return to those which affected the whole Nation.

We have already seen how, and for what Ends, the Duty of *Salt* was taken off; we are now to see under what Pretences it was so soon laid on again.

The Motion for † reviving it was made by the *Minister* himself, in pure Compassion, as he gave out to the *Land-Holders*, oppressed with a *Land Tax*, which had continu'd for above Forty Years without Intermision; and under which he declared many a Gentleman had been utterly ruin'd and un-

* It ought not to be forgot, that, while this Affair was yet depending, a Letter was directed to the Committee, from one Signior *Belloni*, a Banker at *Rome*, signifying, that *Thompson*, the Corporation Warehouse-Keeper, had been seized (together with his Books and Papers) and confined in the Castle *de St. Angelo*; and offering to surrender the said Books and Papers on certain Conditions; which the House was so far from accepting, that (in Conjunction with the Lords) they voted it to be an insolent and audacious *Libel*, and order'd it to be burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman, which was accordingly performed.

† This Affair gave rise to two remarkable Pamphlets, one for the Revival of the *Salt Tax*, call'd, *A Letter to a Freeholder*, &c. and the other AGAINST it, call'd, *The Case of the Revival*

undone.—But he, withal, signify'd, That, how burthensome and ruinous soever, the *Land Tax* was, if this *Salt Duty* was not reviv'd, according to his Motion, the Land must

Revival of the Salt Duty; in which Last we meet with the following remarkable Passage:

“ But, it seems, the *Land* hath paid SIXTY-FIVE MILLIONS at least, within these last forty Years; and He should have done his *honourable Patron* the Justice to observe, That TWELVE MILLIONS of this Sum have been rais'd under his own Administration, during an uninterrupted Peace for ten Years; and that these twelve Millions bear the Proportion of near 3 to 4 of the Sum raised during 30 Years War; since the short Intervals between scarce deserve the Name of Peace. This was an Expence, which nothing could have justify'd, or made tolerable to the Kingdom, but the just Importance of the Cause; the Preservation of our *Religion* and *Liberties*; but I believe few People in the Kingdom now want to be satisfied that both these great Blessings would have been full as safe as they are at present, in case we had not kept up such an unusual Number of *Standing Forces* in time of Peace; sent such Squadrons to the *Baltick*, &c. paid such *Foreign Subsidies*, *Votes of Credit*, &c. and then 'tis demonstrable that not one Shilling of this twelve Millions would have been raised on those *Country Gentlemen*, whose Case this great Patriot so pathetically laments; which is the most convincing Proof of his Tendernefs and Compassion for them.”

“ If we consider farther that, during the Space of about eleven Years past, there hath not, I believe, been a less Sum, than Seventy-three Millions raised on the People, reckoning the *Annual Supplies*, *Civil List*, *Charges of Management*, *Interest of our Debts*, and the *Sinking Fund*; that as the greatest Part of this Money is mixed with the *Civil-List Revenues*; so it requires, for that Reason, no small Care, and great Integrity to do Justice to the Public, in the due Application of it to the respective Branches, to which the several Duties are appropriated; I say, if we consider all This, it is most certain that

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must continue to suffer as before ; adding, That it would appear, from the Determinations of that Day, whether a *Land Tax* of, AT LEAST, *Two Shillings* in the Pound, was to become a PERPETUAL RENT-CHARGE on all the Lands of *England*.

The *Independent* Part of the House were greatly struck at the horrid Prospect, which was thus boldly display'd before them ; and bestirr'd themselves upon it with a Vigour and Spirit worthy the Cause, and equal to the Provocation.

They demonstrated, That all Taxes, in the End, fell upon the Land ; That this was immediately of more pernicious Consequence to the Land-Holder, than the Land Tax it self : That it was greatly detrimental to our Commerce ; That it was a heavy Grievance upon many of our Manufactures, and affected ALL : That in order to raise 500,000 *l.* the united Kingdom must pay 776,200 *l.* That tho' it was then to be impos'd but for *Three Years*, Pretences would be found to render it perpetual ; That it added 4 or 500

a thorough Examination and Inspection into the *Collection*, *Distribution*, and *Disposition* of this immense Sum, raised in time of *Peace*, would give the greatest Content and highest Satisfaction to the Nation.

“ For we may safely affirm, that it is the *largest Sum*, that ever passed through the Hands of any *one Minister* since the Nation had a Being.”

Officers

Officers to the Legions already under the Influence of the Crown: That the Struggle of that Day was, whether we might ever be freed from *Excises* and the fatal Influence of our Officers over our Elections: And, that the Reasons *against* REVIVING this Duty were much stronger, than those for ABOLISHING it in the Year 1730; for, at that Time, it belong'd to the *Sinking Fund*, and was appropriated to the Payment of our National Debt.

But Arguments, Figures, Facts were all thrown away;—The Genius of the Nation had forsook her Charge, and the Minister prevailed by 225 against 187.

I will mention but Two Events more, which bear witness against this notable Session. The One is, That, notwithstanding the Minister's violent Zeal for the Landed Interest, when a Bill was introduc'd, for explaining the *Qualification Act*, and preventing, as far as possible, the Evasion of it, he procur'd a Clause to be offer'd, and supported it himself, for admitting a MONEYED QUALIFICATION; and not succeeding in his Attempt, the Bill itself was * thrown out, by

* It is farther remarkable, That when a Motion was made for a Committee to enquire whether any Member sat in the House contrary to Law, it was over-ruled.

the *singular Dexterity* of this honourable Gentleman in a very extraordinary Manner.

The other is, That, by a Vote of the Commons of *England*, the *English* Nation was oblig'd to pay 22,694*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* to make good the Deficiencies of a FRENCH Subsidy to *Denmark*.

June 1. His Majesty put a Period to the Session, with a most gracious Speech, which, over and above the usual Acknowledgments, contain'd a Declaration, That it was his Majesty's Royal Intention to visit his *German* Dominions that Summer, and that he should leave the Queen, Regent during his Absence.

The Negotiations of our Ministers at the Court of *Spain*, was the only foreign Concern in which the People of *England* had the least Interest; we will, therefore, resume and follow that Thread to the Meeting of the next Session.

The Declaration, before mention'd, was signed in *February* 1732, and in the Demands made by the *Spanish* Commissaries at *Seville* in * *April* following, they formally insisted, ' That as the *British* Subjects, under Pretence of going to their own Colo-

* *April* 17, 1732.

'nies, carry on an unlawful Trade to the
'Ruin of the Flota's, Galleons, and Regi-
'ster Ships, their Ships sailing through those
'Seas shall observe the Course they ought
'to steer, to avoid Hostilities.' But to this
Demand we gave no Answer, and they were
far from requiring any; for, whilst they
were artfully endeavouring to convert this
Pretension into a Right, every thing that
had the Air of Acquiescence afforded Argu-
ments for their Purpose.

It is now generally known, That the Trea-
ties made by our Ministers were designed only
to amuse the Nation; and certain it is, they
had no other Effect; they determined no
Dispute, they concluded no Negotiation;
and the Declaration we have here quoted,
resembled, in this respect, the rest of *their*
Treaties. So early as in the Month of No-
vember * following it, we find Mr. Keene
again applying to the *Spanish* Ministers for
some Regulations, to prevent the unjust
Captures of our Ships for the future. A
new Session approached, a new Treaty
therefore must be put upon the Anvil, and
the Negotiation must resound into *Britain*,
to drown the Cries of the Merchants, and

* Mr. K. Lett. Nov. 17. 1732.

to deafen the Ears of their Representatives. Mr. Keene accordingly acquaints our Ministers, 'That Monsieur *Patinbo* had owned the Insufficiency of *small Quantities* of *Spanish Goods* to condemn our Ships; but that, however, he had insisted on something more clear and positive, and had proposed to *Monf. Patinbo*, to send for a Cedula issued by the Queen Mother soon after the Treaty of 1670, whereby the *Guarda Costa's* were kept within proper Limits, and prevented from interrupting the lawful Commerce of Nations in Amity with *Spain*; and that they should together, adapt it to the present Circumstances.' Our Ministers in the Letter of *January 10, 1732-3.* part of which has been already quoted, tell Mr. Keene, 'That he is not to be discouraged by Difficulties from pushing this Matter as far as he can, and from endeavouring, at least, to get the old Cedula revived, *which he mentions to have been issued for this Purpose about the Year 1670, if he thinks that would be sufficient*;' and they add, 'Unless something of this Kind be done, it will be impossible to put an End to the Violence and Rapine exercised by the *Guarda Co-Ra's*.'

It is very obvious from these Letters, That our Ministers, as well as Mr. Keene, were utterly in the Dark, concerning the Cedula issued *about* the Year 1670. And it is not easy to determine which was greater, the Absurdity of proposing, and even labouring to obtain a Cedula, of the Contents of which they were totally ignorant, or that Negligence, in what so much concerned the Trade of their Country, from which alone could proceed their Ignorance of this Cedula, which had been transmitted to them by Admiral *Stuart*, so long before as the Month of *April 1732*. * The Cedula is no other than that which was issued by the Queen Mother in 1674, and it is in pursuance of it that every *Spanish Guarda Costa*, in the *Indies*, has been, and is fitted out. But the mean Admissions of our Ministers had already so well adapted it to the present Circumstances, that the *Spanish* Governors had presumed to give to their Corsairs a farther Power to take *all the Embarcations of Strangers*, they should find in or about their Ports and Rivers.

In the same Letter of the 10th of *January*, we find our Ministers of a sudden

* Rear Adm. St. Lett. to Mr. Burchet, 28 April 1732.

alarmed

alarmed with the following Expression in the Cedula, for Restitution of the Ship *Woolball*, That the Ship was not taken in any suspected Course of Navigation. This they desire to have explained, 'because it carries an Implication that may prove of dangerous Consequence to the *British* Trade in *America*.' Could it be credited, if we had not their own Authority for it, That notwithstanding the *Spanish* Cedulas, the Demands of their Commissaries, and the Accounts sent home from the *Indies*, our Ministers were TILL THIS TIME, in finding out, what had been the Subject upon which they had negotiated so many Years? Yet so it is. And thus it appears, That to this Time, that is to the Year 1733, the Right of *Great-Britain*, and indeed of Mankind, was never once asserted by our Ministers against the Pretensions of the *Spaniards*; but their Pretensions were, in every Treaty or Act that passed between us, fortified by the unaccountable Policy of our Ministers, as the Depredations made in Consequence of them were suffered, and in some sort allowed by the Instructions, whereby our Men of War were restrained from protecting our Trade, or making Reprisals on the *Spaniards*.

G g 3

While

While our Affairs were in this Situation abroad, the most grievous Apprehensions were entertained at home of a Ministerial Project for introducing, tho' gradually, a *General Exchequer*; which put the whole Nation into a Flame.

Comparing therefore the Temper of the People at the Time of opening the next Session, with what the said Session actually brought forth, it will, perhaps, appear not a little astonishing to Posterity, to find in the very first Paragraph of his Majesty's most gracious Speech from the Throne, a Declaration, 'That it was a great Satisfaction to him, that the present Situation of Affairs, both at home and abroad, made it unnecessary for him to lay before the Two Houses any other Reasons for his calling them together at that Time, but the ordinary Dispatch of the public Business.' Which public Business by the subsequent Paragraph appears to be the raising effectual Supplies. To which his Majesty was pleased to add a Caution, 'To raise and distribute the said Supplies, as will most conduce to the present and future Ease of those they represented, and

which had been the great object of the Session.

January 18 1733.

like-

likewise, that they would avoid any unreasonable *Hears* and *Animosities*, &c.

But whatever Posterity may think of this Speech, so satisfactory did it appear to the House, that, upon the Report, a Motion was made for an Address to specify, That they were as well satisfy'd as his Majesty with the present Situation of Affairs, both at *Home* and *Abroad*, and to assure his Majesty, That they would, with all possible Duty, cheerfully and effectually raise the necessary Supplies, &c. To which loyal and submissive Expressions, the Gentlemen in the Opposition were permitted to add, by way of Amendment, the following Particulars, *viz.* 'By such Means as should be consistent with the Trade, Interest, and Liberty of the Nation, and the Honour and Justice of Parliament.'

Tho' a *Standing Army* had, for so many Years of *prosperous Peace*, been made a Part of our *happy Establishment*, till this Session, no Man had been hardy enough to declare, That this was one of the Articles which was to be distinguished by the dreadful Word **FOREVER**.

But the usual Motion having now been made for continuing the same Number of Troops, Mr. *Horatio Walpole* had the Honour to declare, 'That the Number of

“Properly then proposed, was *absolutely ne-*
cessary to support his Majesty's Govern-
 ment, and *would* be necessary, *as*
 long as the Nation had the Happiness
 of having the present illustrious Family
 on the Throne.”

Upon which Occasion Mr. Rolle took the
 Liberty to say, “That, to him it appeared,
 that, in order to preserve ourselves against
 one, who might, perhaps, prove a Tyrant;
 we were going to establish 18,000 Ty-
 rants, and to make their Establishment;
 in some measure, a Part of our Constitu-
 tion, &c.” and concluded thus, “Let us
 do what our Forefathers used to do; *Let*
us remove the Wicked from before the King,
and his Throne shall be established in Righte-
ousness.”

But this Advice, however wholesome,
 was, upon a Division of the House, found
 impracticable, 203 siding with Mr. H.
 Matpole, and but 136 with Mrs. Rolle.

These necessary Measures to the Throne being
 thus taken Care of, it was thought exped-
 ient, by some Gentleman, to bestow a
 Thought upon the People. And to this End
 Accordingly, a Motion was made for an
 Address, to know what Satisfaction had
 been made to the Subjects of Great Britain
 for the Losses they had sustained from the
 Spaniards,

Spaniards, in Virtue of the Treaty of Seville; and, by the Minister's Permission, was carry'd. In answer to which they were told, That, tho' the Commissioners of both Nations were, by the said Treaty, appointed to meet April 2, 1730, yet, by several unforeseen Accidents, they did not meet till February 23, 1732, N. S. That the Two Crowns had therefore, agreed, That the Three Years for finishing their Commission, should be computed from their first Meeting, and consequently, it was impracticable for his Majesty to give the proper Orders for laying a perfect Account before the House, of what is requir'd in the Address.

But, tho' the Interest of our Merchants found so little Favour in the Eyes of the Minister, he again pay'd his Court to the Land-Holders, by affecting a tender Concern for theirs.

For when the House was in a Committee, upon the Supply, Feb. 23, we find him proposing to apply 500,000 *l.* out of the Surplusses of the Sinking-Fund, to the Service of the Year; and declaring, That in Case that should not be agreed to, the Land-Tax, instead of one, must be fix'd at Two Shillings in the Pound: To which Mr. Pulteney had the Honour, among other

other Things, to reply in the following Manner, viz.

The honourable Gentleman addresses himself in a very particular Manner to the *Landed Interest*; I hope every Gentleman in this House has a Regard for the *Landed Interest*; but I hope the *Landed Gentlemen* of this House are not to be bully'd into any *Ministerial Jobs*, by telling them, that if they do not agree to such a *Motion*, a Land-Tax of Two Shillings in the Pound must be moved for. I hope, Sir, the *Landed Gentlemen* will never be induced to consent to any Thing that may undo the Nation, and overturn the Constitution for so *small a Bribe*, to arising a Consideration, as that of being free from the Payment of One Shilling in the Pound Land-Tax, and for one Year only. The *Landed Gentlemen* of this Nation have often ventur'd their *All* in their Country's Cause; and it is an Indignity offer'd to them, to imagine, that paying or not paying such a Trifle as One Shilling in the Pound Land-Tax, will be of any Weight with them, when it comes in Competition with the *Welfare and Happiness* of their Country.

The *Sinking Fund*, that SACRED DEPOSIT for extinguishing the Debts and abolishing

giving the Taxes, which lie so heavy on the Trade and the People of this Nation, ought never to be touched; no Consideration ought to prevail with us to convert that Funded any Use, but that for which it was originally design'd. It has of late been too often *rob'd*; I beg Pardon, Sir; *Robbing* is a harsh Word; I will not say *robbed*, but I must say, that upon several Occasions there have been considerable Sums *stripp'd* away from it; Upon the Death of his late Majesty, a large Sum was taken from the Sinking-Fund, and apply'd to the Civil-List: By the taking off the *Salt-Duty*, another large Yearly Sum was taken away from that Fund; and the People are now again charged with that Duty, but no Restitution has been made to the Sinking-Fund. Thus, Sir, there has been already a very large Sum taken from it at several Times; and now it is propos'd to *snip* off it 800,000 £. at once. At this Rate, the People of this Nation must for ever groan under the Load of Taxes they are now subject to; and our Trade, as long as we have any left, must labour under the Difficulties and Discouragements it is now exposed to. Is this consistent with the Welfare or Happiness of the Nation? Is this the Method

Method by which the Landed Gentlemen are to be eased of One Shilling in the Pound Land Tax?

A great many other Gentlemen distinguished themselves, likewise, in this Debate; but to no manner of Purpose, the Motion being carry'd even without a Division.

We are now come to the famous *Excise Scheme*, which, on *March 14*, was brought into the House by the great *Projector*, Sir *R. W.* who, in *his* introductory Speech to render it *palatable*, declared it would be an Improvement to the Revenue of 2 or 300,000*l. per Ann.* and, perhaps, more. That by this Addition the Nation *might* be relieved from some of those Taxes, which it had labour'd under so many Years: That it would prevent the many notorious Frauds committed in the Revenue: That it would relieve the poor Planters from the Tyranny of their Factors, &c: That however this Scheme had been misrepresented, it was an innocent Scheme, and could be hurtful to none but the *Smugglers* and unfair Traders.

This great Minister was supported in this Debate by his *excellent* Brother *H. Walpole*, Esq; *H. Pelham*, Esq; * Sir *Philip Yorke*,

* Then Attorney General, and now Lord Chancellor.

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Lord Harvey, Sir William Yonge, Mr. Winnington, Lord Glenorchy, Sir Thomas Robinson, and others; and was oppos'd in it by Sir Paul Methuen, Mr. Pulteney, Sir William Wyndham, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Sir John Barnard, Mr. Parry, Mr. Heathcote, and several more Gentlemen, who, upon this Occasion, manifested a Spirit worthy of *Englishmen*.

In particular, Sir John Barnard desired that the Commissioners of the Customs, who attended at the Door, might be call'd in; which being agreed to, he first ask'd them, What they thought the Value of the Frauds committed in the Tobacco-Trade might amount to one Year with another? Their Answer was, That they had never made any Computation: But one of them said, That, by a Computation he had made only to satisfy his own private Curiosity, he believed the Frauds come to their Knowledge, might amount to 30 or 40,000 *l. per Annum*, one Year with another. Then Sir John Barnard ask'd them, Whether it was their Opinion, That if the Officers of the Customs performed their Duty diligently and faithfully, it would not effectually prevent all, or most of the Frauds that could be committed in the Tobacco Trade? To which they answer'd, That it was their Opinion it would. Then he ask'd them farther,

Whether

Whether it was their Opinion, That if the Commissioners of the Customs had the same Power over their Officers, as the Commissioners of the Excise have over theirs, it would not contribute a great deal towards making them more faithful in the Discharge of their Duty than they now are? To this their Answer was, That they believed it would.

Thus it appeared, That the Scheme was wholly *unnecessary*; and as to the pernicious Tendency of it, it may not be improper to exemplify it by the Sentiments of the admired Mr. *Paltney*, as follows:

“ I wish the Gentlemen, who appear so zealous for this Scheme, would have some little Regard to their Consciences. It is well known that it was the Custom among our Ancestors, when any *new Device* was proposed, to desire Time to have a Conference with their *Counsellors*: I am but very little conversant in Books of Law, however I sometimes look into them; and I must beg Leave to read a Passage or two on this Subject, from my Lord *Coke*. That great Lawyer, in the 4th Part of his *Institutes*, p. 14, says, It is also the Law and Custom of the Parliament, That when any *new Device* is moved on the King's Behalf, in Parliament, for his Aid, or the like, the

Com-

' Commons may answer, that they tender'd
 ' the King's Estate, and are ready to aid
 ' the same, only in this new Device they
 ' dare not agree without Conference with
 ' their Countries; whereby it appeareth,
 ' that such Conference is *warrantable* by the
 ' Law and Custom of Parliament.' And
 again, p. 34, he tells us, ' At the Parlia-
 ' ment holden in the 9th of King Edward
 ' III, when a Motion was made for a Sub-
 ' sidy of a new Kind, the Commons an-
 ' swer'd, that they would have Conference
 ' with those of their several Countries and
 ' Places, who had put them in *Trust*, before
 ' they treated of any such Matter.' If such
 a Conference was ever necessary upon any
 Occasion, it is surely necessary before we
 agree to the Device now offered to us; a
 Device which, in my Opinion, strikes at
 the very Root of our *Liberties*; it is, in my
 way of Thinking, a downright Plan for ar-
 bitrary Power; and in this I am not singu-
 lar, for there seems to be many Gentlemen
 of the same Opinion within Doors as well
 as without; therefore I must think that it is
 necessary, it is incumbent upon every Gen-
 tleman in this House, at least, to desire to
 have a Conference with his *Constituents*, be-
 fore he agrees to any such Device: This
 would have been necessary, if we had been
 entirely

entirely ignorant of the Sentiments of our several Countries; but indeed in the present Case, such a Conference seems to be quite unnecessary; we already know the Sentiments of our Constituents in relation to the Device now offered to us; the whole Nation has already, in the most open Manner, declared their Dislike to it; and therefore I hope the Gentlemen of this Committee will reject it with that Scorn and Contempt it deserves"

The Debate lasted with the utmost Vehemence till near Two o'Clock of the Morning, and towards the Close of it, the great *Projector* became so transported with the violent Opposition his darling Scheme had met with, that he had the Rashness to express himself to the following Effect:

"Gentlemen may say what they please of the Multitudes now at our Door, and in all the Avenues leading to this House; they may call them a modest Multitude if they will; but whatever Temper they were in when they came hither, it may be very much alter'd now, after having waited so long at our Door: It may be a very easy Matter for some designing, seditious Person to raise a Tumult and Disorder among them; and when Tumults are once begun, no Man knows where they may end; he is

negotiator Man should any longer in the
Nation, that could, with the same Ease,
appeal them, for this Reason, I must
think, That it was neither prudent nor
regular, to use any Methods for bringing
such Multitudes to this Place, under any
Erequence whatever. Gentlemen may give
them what Name they think fit, it may
be said that they came hither as humble
Suppliants, but I know, whom the Law
calls STURDY BEGGARS; and those who
brought them hither could not be certain,
but that they might have behav'd in the
same Manner.

Mr Bubbins this insolent Phrase of STURDY
BEGGARS, was warmly resented by the
Friends of the People, they were not only
too weak to procure any proper Resolution
to be pass'd thereon; but likewise to humble
the Minister with one single Negative; tho'
it had been so loudly demanded by the Voice
of the whole People. For, upon a Division
of the House, it appear'd, That the great
Projector had the Advantage of his Coun-
try, by 266 Voices against 205; on the
Strength of which Majority it was that Night
Resolv'd, That the Customs hitherto paid
upon Tobacco, should be chang'd into an
Inland Duty (alias EXCISE) of 4 d. per
Pound, &c.

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Upon

Upon the Report however, another furious Debate arose; of which we need say no more, than that the Minister was again victorious by 249 against 189.

A Bill was now order'd in to establish this odious Measure by Law; upon which, the City of *London* found it adviseable to petition the House to be heard by their Council against the said Bill: This, however, being thought too great a Favour, it was over-rul'd by 214 against 197, and the said Petition was order'd to lye upon the Table, The Petitions of *Nottingham* and *Coventry* met with the same Fate.

But tho' these public Indications of the public Discontent, appeared to be so little regarded, the universal Resentment which prevailed every where against this pernicious Measure, for once gave such a Shock to the *Minister's* Firmness, that when it was expected he would have mov'd for the Second Reading of the Bill, he mov'd for postponing it to the 12th of *June* next, which was, in effect, dropping it for good and all.—But, not to indulge his Adversaries with too great a Triumph, when a Motion was made to reject the said Bill, the contrary Measure prevail'd by 118 Voices against 76.

The

The People were, however, infinitely transported with their Victory, tho' it was not entirely complete: Even to disappoint a favourite Measure of this overgrown Minister, was what they had never been able to compass before:—Their Joy, therefore, on this Occasion, as it was reasonable to expect, ran over; Bells and Bonfires celebrated their Triumph; and as the *Person* of their *Adversary* was not in their Power, they contented themselves with burning him in *Effigy*.

Before we take Leave of this Subject it is necessary to observe, That, the *Frauds* and *Abuses* of the Customs having been made the Plea, by those in Power, for this Extension of the Excise Laws, the opposing Members mov'd for a *Select Committee* of *Twenty one*, to make the necessary Enquiries upon that Head: But tho' this Committee was chosen by Ballot, according to their Desire, so thoroughly was the Minister's Influence established, that his own *List* was carry'd *entire*, and consequently the Motion had not the desir'd Effect.

It is farther observable, That when the *Retailers* of *Coffee* and *Tea*, taking the Advantage of the yet glowing Indignation of the People against *Excises*, petition'd the House for Relief against the Act, which

H h 2

turn'd

turn'd the *Customs* upon those Commodities into an *Inland Duty*, and a Motion was made for referring the said Petition to a Committee of the whole House, it pass'd in the Negative by 250 against 150.

As did likewise another Motion for the *South Sea Directors* to lay before the House an * Account of what Sums of Money, &c. had

* The Nature and Tendency of this Motion may be understood from the following Articles, which are taken from a Protest made upon a simular Occasion in the other House.

" Because the great Distresses and Calamities of the Year 1720, having been occasioned by the Directors, at that Time, declaring such extravagant Dividends, as the Company was not able to support, the Legislature have, in all their Acts relating to this Corporation, which have passed since that Time, taken the utmost Care to prohibit and restrain the Directors from being guilty of the like Practices; yet notwithstanding this, they have been so far from taking Warning by the Examples made of their Predecessors, that it appears, by the Accounts laid before this House, that although by the Cash which came into their Hands, and by the Sale of Four Millions of Stock to the Bank, and by the Loans of Stock and otherwise, they were sufficiently enabled to pay off the Debt of Five Millions Four Hundred Thousand Pounds, then owing by the Company, as in Justice and Prudence they ought to have done; yet, influenced, as we have Reason to believe, by the great corrupt Views of some Few, who may have assumed to themselves the whole Management of the Affairs of this Corporation, they left great Part of their Debt on Bonds at Interest unpaid, and by unwarrantable Dividends out of the Money, in order to give a fallacious Value to their Stock, Multitudes of his Majesty's Subjects have been defrauded; and they have, without the Knowledge of the Proprietors, not only dissipated above Two Millions
Three

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had been received on the Estates of the *late South Sea* Directors.

And a Third for a Clause in the *Land Tax*, to empower the Commissioners of the respective Counties to nominate their *Receivers*.

But a Bill for raising 500,000 *l.* by Lottery, for the Relief of the Sufferers in the *Charitable Corporation* had better Luck ; whereby the Follies of the *Many* were tax'd to make good the *Frauds* committed by a *Few*.

Three Hundred Thousand Pounds, received from the Directors Estates ; but they have likewise brought a new Debt of Two Millions upon the Company, and thereby diminished the Capital of every Proprietor's Stock ; by which Means great Injury and Injustice have, in numerous Instances, been done to Orphans, and the Reversionary Heirs of these Estates, to the great Dishonour of the public Faith, and Discredit of the Nation.

Because we think it highly expedient at this Time, to vindicate the Public Faith of the Nation, lest Foreigners should be induced, by the *many Instances* of Fraud and Corruption, which have been of late discover'd in other Corporations, suddenly to withdraw their Effects out of our Funds, and thereby totally destroy public Credit, and plunge us into inextricable Difficulties.

Because the Arts made Use of to divert us from our Duty, and defeat this Enquiry, give us Reasons to prosecute it with fresh Vigour ; for *Impunity of Guilt* (if any such there be) is the strongest Encouragement to the *Repetition* of the *same Practices* in *future Times*, by chalking out a *safe Method* of committing the most *flagitious Frauds*, under the *Protection* of some *corrupt* and all-screening Minister."

H h 3

And,

And, *June 11*, his Majesty put a Period to the Session with a gracious Speech; in which he declares, 'That he never demand-
' ed any Supplies of his People but what
' were *absolutely necessary* for the Honour,
' Safety and Defence of himself and his
' Kingdom.' To which he was pleas'd to add, 'I cannot pass by unobserv'd the
' *wicked Endeavours* that have lately been
' made use of to inflame the Minds of the
' People, and by the most *unjust Misrepre-*
' *sentations* to raise Tumults and Disorders
' that almost threaten'd the Peace of the
' Kingdom. But I depend upon the Force
' of Truth to remove the *groundless* Jealou-
' sies that have been rais'd; of Designs car-
' rying against the *Liberties* of my People,
' and upon *your known* Fidelity to defeat
' and frustrate the Expectations of such as
' delight in *Confusion*.

' It is my Inclination, and has *always* been
' my Study to preserve the Religious and
' Civil Rights of all my Subjects.

' Let it be your Care to *undeceive* the
' *Deluded*, and to make them sensible of
' their *present Happiness*, and the Hazard
' they run of being unwarily drawn, by
' specious Pretences, into their own DE-
' STRUCTION.'

The

The Death of *Augustus*, King of *Poland*, which happen'd *Feb. 1. N. S. 1733*, had now given another Turn to the Face of Affairs abroad; for as we had disobligh'd *France* before, by our clandestine Negotiations with the Emperor, we had now an Opportunity to pacify her again, by co-operating with her, in her Endeavours to procure the Re-election of King *Stanislaus*; and this Opportunity we did not fail to make the best Use of imaginable; and proper Instructions were immediately sent to the *English* Minister at *Warsaw*; who, thereupon, acted in such a Manner as sufficiently prov'd, That the Interests of *Great Britain* and *Hanover* are INCOMPATIBLE.

The Emperor upon this takes the Alarm, espouses the Pretensions of *Augustus* of *Saxony*, Son of the late King, and causes a Body of Troops to be assembled in *Silesia*; while a Body of *Russians* actually entered *Poland*, at the Invitation of above Eighty of the *Polish* Nobility: At this *France* affects to take Umbrage, pretends a tender Concern for the Liberties of the *Republic*, but prepares to make Use of the Crisis, to destroy the House of *Austria*: In order to which, she enters into a Confederacy with the Kings of *Spain* and *Sardinia*; orders one Army to pass the *Rhine*, which invested

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and

and took Fort *Kehl*; and with another, in Conjunction with the King of *Sardinia*, invaded the *Milanese*, while *Spain*, likewise, pour'd into *Italy* a Third, consisting of 21,000 Men, besides the Six Thousand already stationed there, in Virtue of the Treaty of *Seville*, in order to put in for a Share of the Spoil.

This was the Time, one would have thought, for *England* to witness her Concern for the *Balance of Europe*, if it was ever more to be held worth it; but our *Ministers*, it seems, could not then be prevailed upon to be of that Mind, tho' the *Emperor* purposely drew his Troops out of *Flanders*, that the manifest *Danger* of the *Barrier* might, in a Manner, oblige the *Maritime Powers* to assist him in his present Extremity; tho' the *Dutch* not only became sensible of that Danger, but actually apply'd to us for the 10,000 Men we were oblig'd by Treaty to furnish for the Security of the said Barrier: Even these Ten Thousand Men they refus'd; and when the *States* would have concerted Measures with our Envoy at the *Hague*, for the Preservation of the House of *Austria*, he declared He HAD NO POWERS TO TREAT. Upon which their High Mightinesses most wisely negotiated a *Neutrality* for *Flanders*, with the Court of *France*, and we

we contented our selves with forming airy Schemes of Mediation, which could answer no other End than that of *amusing*, or rather deluding the Public.

Affairs being in this Situation, his Majesty open'd the Seventh and ^{1733-34.} Last Session of the then Parliament, with a gracious Speech ; in which are to be found the following remarkable Particulars:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ **T**HE War, which is now begun, and carry'd on, against the *Emperor*, with so much *Vigour*, by the united Powers of *France*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*, is become the Object of the Care and Attention of all *Europe* ; and, though I am no ways engaged in it, and have had no Part, except by my *good Offices*, in those Transactions, which have been declared to be the principal Causes and Motives of it, I cannot sit regardless of the present Events, or be unconcerned for the future Consequences of a War, undertaken and supported by so powerful an Alliance.

“ If ever any Occasion required more than ordinary Prudence and Circumspection, the present calls upon us to use our utmost Precaution, not to determine too *hastily* upon so critical and important a Conjunction; but
to

to consider thoroughly what the Honour and Dignity of my Crown and Kingdoms, the *true Interest* of my People, and the Engagements we are under, to the several Powers we are in Alliance with, may in Justice and Prudence require of us.

“ I have therefore thought it proper to take *Time* to examine the Facts alledged on both Sides, and to wait the Result of the *Counsil*s of those *Powers*, that are more *nearly* and *immediately* interested in the Consequences of the War, and to concert with those Allies, who are under the *same* Engagements with me, and have not taken Part in the War, more *particularly* the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, such Measures as shall be thought most advisable for our common Safety, and for restoring the Peace of *Europe*.

“ As I shall have, in all my Considerations upon this great and important Affair, the strictest Regard to the Honour of my Crown, and the Good of my People, and be governed by *no other Views*, I can make no doubt, but that I may *entirely depend* on the *Support* and *Affistance* of my Parliament, without exposing myself, by any *precipitate Declarations*, to such Inconveniences, as ought, as far as possible, to be avoided.

“ In

“ In the mean time, I am persuaded, you will make such Provisions, as shall secure my Kingdoms, Rights, and Possessions, from all Dangers and Insults, and maintain the Respect due to the *British* Nation; Whatever Part it may, in the End, be most reasonable for us to act, it will, in all Views, be necessary, when all *Europe* is preparing for Arms, to put ourselves in a proper Posture of Defence.”

When this Speech was reported, a Motion was made for an Address of Thanks. To acknowledge his Majesty's Goodness; To declare their *unfeigned Confidence* in his Majesty, that in all his Considerations upon that great and important Affair, his Majesty would have the strictest Regard to the Honour and Dignity of his Crown and Kingdoms, and to the *true Interest* of his People; And to assure his Majesty, That he might *intirely* depend upon the Support and Assistance of his faithful Commons, in such *Measures* as HE should find it *necessary* to enter into, for attaining and securing these great and valuable Purposes: And that That House would make such Provision for the Safety and Defence of the Nation, as should secure his Majesty's Kingdoms, Rights and *Possessions* from all Dangers and Insults.

But

But to these very complaisant Particulars Mr. *Shippen* had the Courage to make some Objections. "For fear, said he, That under such a general Expression, there may be couched, or at least it may hereafter be insisted on, that there is couched, a Promise of a *Vote of Credit*, and therefore I should be willing to have those Words a little explained; for I shall always endeavour, as much as I can, to prevent this House being rashly drawn into such Promises."

In answer to which, Sir *R. W.* was pleas'd to declare, 'That there was no Ground to presume an Intention of couching a Promise of a *Vote of Credit*, under the general Expressions, so alluded to by Mr. *Shippen*.'

Sir *John H. Cotton*, and Lord *Coleraine* were for confining the Word *Possessions* to those belonging to the Crown of *Great Britain*.

But so little Weight had the Sense of the Anti-Ministerial Party in the House, that the Address was carry'd in its full Latitude without a Division.

Some Days after Sir *John Rusbout* mov'd to address his Majesty for the *Letters and Instructions* sent to his Majesty's Ministers in *France* and *Spain*, relating to the Execution of the Treaty of *Seville*, and was supported by

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by Mr. *Pulteney*; who, among other Things, was pleas'd to express himself to this Effect :

“ I would gladly know, how it is possible for the Parliament to give the Nation any Relief in its present melancholy Circumstances, if we deny Access to those Particulars from which only we can know what our present Situation is. If the Question should come before us, Whether or no we ought to take any Part in the present War? Can we pass any Judgment upon such a Question, without first knowing how we stand engaged to the several Powers abroad? And can we know any Thing of this, without first examining the many Treaties and Negotiations which have been carry'd on of late Years? If we are to take no Part in the War, we must provide for the Safety of the Nation : How can we do this properly, and as it ought to be done? How can we judge of the Estimates that are to be laid before us for that End, without knowing what Danger the Nation is in? And how can we know our Danger, without knowing how we stand, with respect to our foreign Alliances and Engagements? For these Ends, Sir, we must have not only the Papers now moved for, but, in my Opinion, a great many others will be necessary, in order

order to give us those Lights which we ought certainly to have."

But however popular this *great Patriot* was *then* without Doors, his Influence was seldom predominant within : And however positive he was, that without Information there could be no Judgment, the House were resolved to have *no Informations*, and accordingly rejected the Motion by 195 Voices against 104.

As * ill Luck had Mr. *Sandys* in moving for the Instructions to the *British* Ministers in *Poland* in the Year 1729, tho' supported by Sir *William Wyndham* in the following unanswerable manner :

" It is allowed on all Hands, That the Election of a King of *Poland* is the principal Cause of the War now broke out in *Europe* ; and to tell us, that his Majesty has said, That he has had no Share in that Transaction, and that therefore we must not enquire into it, is a direct begging of the Question : The Ministers are the only Persons we can suppose to have said so, and there are other Gentlemen who affirm, or at least, suspect the contrary : This is a Fact then, that is controverted ; this is the Fact

* The Division, upon this Occasion, was 202 against 214.
which

which the House is to enquire into; and when a Motion is made for having those Papers laid before us, which are necessary for giving us some Lights into this Affair, shall Gentlemen be told, That such a Motion is improper, because it is inconsistent with that Respect which we have professed for his Majesty, in our Address of Thanks? If this House can be persuaded to accept of such an Excuse, if a Majority of this House can be prevailed on to join in such a Method of Proceeding, those Gentlemen who can so prevail upon them, may throw out as many Defiances as they please: They are the sole Masters of all the Proofs that are necessary for, or can be made use of upon any Enquiry; and they are, it seems, resolv'd to continue so. If we had no Share in the Transactions at that Time carried on in *Poland*, surely no Secret can be discovered by the laying of those Instructions before this House; and if we had any Share in those Transactions, it cannot be said, I think, that we have no manner of Share in those Transactions which have occasioned the present War in *Europe*.

“ What Share we had in those Transactions, 'till I see those Instructions, it is impossible for me to say; but from the Lights I already have, it appears evident to me, That
we

we have had a very large Share in all the other Negotiations, which have been lately carried on in *Europe*. Did not we procure the Introduction of the first *Spanish* Forces into *Italy*? Are not we Guarantees for all Don *Carlos's* Rights and Possessions in *Italy*? Are not we Guarantees for all the Emperor's Rights and Possessions in *Italy*? Are not we Guarantees even for the *Pragmatic Sanction* in its full Extent? I believe we are under Engagements to every one of the Northern Powers; and I have heard, that we are under some Engagements to the Court of *France*; so that let a War have broke out between any two Powers in *Europe*, it will be difficult to shew, that we had no Hand in the Transactions which gave Occasion to that War; upon the contrary, I believe it will appear, that each of them might have justly made Demands upon us; and this, Sir, is our present unhappy Situation."

The same Day Mr. *Waller* made a Motion for an Address, 'That his Majesty
' would be graciously pleased to communi-
' cate to the House, how far he had been
' engaged by his GOOD OFFICES in those
' Transactions which had been declared to
' be the principal Causes and Motives of
' the War then carry'd on with so much
' VIGOUR.

* VIGOUR. — But this was carry'd in the Negative without a Division.

Mr. *Sandys* then mov'd for an Address,
* That his Majesty would communicate to
* the House what Applications had been
* made to him by the several Parties then
* engaged in War, founded upon Treaties,
* &c.

Upon which Occasion Mr. *Cockburn* expressed himself to this Effect:

“ I am old enough to remember the Beginning of the first great War against *France*, and I remember, that, as soon as the *Dutch* applied to us for our Assistance, King *William* immediately laid the Case before the Parliament, and took their Advice, as to what was proper to be done upon that Emergency, before he came to any Resolution: Upon the Breaking out of the second War, the late Queen did the same; and I must say, that I think, every King of this Nation ought to follow that Example: If they expect the Assistance of Parliament, they ought to take the Advice of Parliament; and our Histories will inform us, that when they have done so, they have generally done well; and when they have done otherwise, they have had but little Success.”

This Motion miscarry'd on the Previous Question, without a Division.

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Soon

Soon after this, the Retailers in Tea and Coffee renewed their Petition to be relieved from the Penalties they were liable to by the *Excise* Laws: But tho' their Case was long and warmly debated, the Motion to refer their Petition to a Committee was over-ruled by 233 against 155.

Thus far we have followed the Efforts, and attended the Success of the *Opposition*; we come now to the Demands of the Crown.

Feb. 8. came on the annual Question on the annual Army; on which Occasion those in Power were pleas'd to make the present Situation of *Europe*, a Pretence for adding 1800 Men to the then Establishment; by way of *replacing* the Three Regiments which it was found necessary to continue at *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*.

This was opposed by Sir *William Wyndham*, who, on the contrary, was for *including* the said Three Regiments in the Estimate for the Year.

A warm Debate ensued; Lights into the present State of Affairs were again called for; the *Minister* rose up as if to give them, but disappointed the whole House, and made his Conclusions from the King's Speech only: Upon which Mr. *Pulteney* took Occasion to say, "Are we to vote powerful Fleets, and numerous Armies; are we to lay new
and

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and great Burthens on the People, and all this without being told *any Reasons* for what we are desired to do? What Satisfaction can we give our *Constituents*, if they should ask us, why we have augmented our *Standing Army*, which must *always* be dangerous to the Liberties of our Country? Why we have consented to the increasing the public Charge, which is already *heavier* than the People can *bear*? Really, to this most material and reasonable Question, I know as yet of no other Answer we can give, but only that his Majesty has *told* us in his *Speech*, that there is a War broke out in *Europe*, in which we have *no manner of Concern*; and his *Ministers* have told us, That we ought to be afraid of the Armies and Fleets raised and fitted out by our Neighbours, because they are under an absolute Necessity of employing all the Armies they can raise, and all the Fleets they can fit out, in those Parts of *Europe* which are most *remote* from us. We have Zeal, Sir, I hope we have all a great deal Affection and Zeal for his Majesty's Person and Government; but do not let us allow his Majesty's Ministers, or even his Majesty himself, to expect such a *blind* Zeal from his Parliament: It is *inconsistent* with the *Dignity of Parliament*, and I am sure that Parliaments, *thirty* or

forty Years ago, would hardly have been persuaded to have shewn so much *Complaisance* to the *Ministers* of the *Crown*."

Upon the whole, the Minister carry'd his Point by 262 against 162.

About this Time the Duke of *Bolton*, and the Lord Viscount *Cobham*, having been removed from their respective Commands in the Army, as it was generally understood, for their having acted *independently* in Parliament, the Lord Viscount *Morpeth* made a Motion for Leave to bring in a Bill, 'For the better securing the Constitution, by preventing the Officers, not above the Rank of Colonels of Regiments, of such Land Forces, as shall at any Time, be allow'd by Authority of Parliament, from being depriv'd of their Commissions, otherwise than by Court-Martials, or by Address of either House.' And it was upon this Occasion Sir *William Wyndham*, who had been so often branded by his Enemies as a *Tory* and a *Jacobite*, did both himself and his Party, the Honour to advance the following Sentiments, which *Algernon Sydney* himself would not have been asham'd of.

"The Gentlemen, who have been pleased to speak against this Proposition, have all of them asserted, That, should it take Place,
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it would alter the very *Being* of our *Constitution*; from whence we must conclude, That these Gentlemen think, that the very *Being* of our *Constitution* consists, not *only* in having a *Standing Army*, but it consists also in having that Army *absolutely* and *entirely dependent* on the Crown; which is an Opinion so directly contrary to that which every Man ought to have of our *Constitution*, that I am sorry to hear of its being entertained by any Gentleman, who has the Honour of being a Member of this House. I wish those Gentlemen would consider a little better the Nature and the Being of our *Constitution*, and the many Alterations that have from Time to Time crept into it; if they do, they will find no *greater Novelty*, nor can they find one more *dangerous*, than that of a *Standing Army*: It is not as yet, I hope, a Part of our *Constitution*, and therefore, what is now proposed cannot be an *Alteration* of our *Constitution*; it is indeed so far otherwise, that the very Design of it is to prevent our *Constitution's* being altered, by a *Standing Army's* being hereafter made a Part of it; or at least to make that Army *less dangerous*, in case it should become absolutely necessary for us *always* to keep up a *Standing Army*. We have likewise been told, That the *Prerogative* is a Part of our

Constitution, and the lessening the Power of the Crown, or robbing the Crown of its *Prerogative*, as Gentlemen have been pleased to call it, is an Alteration of our *Constitution*. For my own Part, I have no Notion of any *legal Power* or *Prerogative*, but what is for the *Benefit* of the *Community*; nor do I think, that any Power can be *legal*, but what is *originally derived* from the *Community*; and it is certain, That all the Power that is, or can be given by the *People*, must be given for their *own Protection* and *Defence*: Therefore, if the *People* should afterwards find that they have given *too much*, if they should begin to foresee, that the Power they have *given* may come to be of *dangerous* Consequence to *themselves*; have not they Reason, have not they a *Right*, to take *back* what Part of it they think *necessary* for their *own Safety*? This is the proper Footing, upon which the present Debate ought to be put; and, taking it upon this Footing, suppose, that this Power of removing the Officers of the Army were a Part of the antient *Prerogative* of the Crown; if the *Parliament* should foresee, that this Power might be made a *bad Use* of; that it might easily be turned towards *enslaving* the *People*, would not the *People* have a *Right* to take it from the Crown? would it not be
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their *Duty* to do so? nay, ought not the *Crown* willingly and freely to give it up?

There are People in the World, among whom it is notorious, neither the Reasoning of *Socrates*, nor the Rhetoric of *Demosthenes* would have any Weight. We are not to wonder, therefore, that this great Man so frequently spoke in vain: The Question being called for, the *Ministerial Party* prevail'd, without being put to the Trouble of a Division. And when a *second Motion* was made by Mr. *Sandys*, for an Address to know by whose *Advice* his Majesty had been induc'd to *remove* the Two Noble Lords before mention'd, so highly did they presume upon their Power, that not one of the whole *Phalanx* condescended to oppose it by the Shew of Reason or Argument, but arrogantly put the Merits of the Cause on the Strength of Numbers; and so defeated it by 252 against 193,

For the farther Honour of this Parliament, the Duty on *Salt*, which had once been taken off, and which was the very next Year again replaced, was now farther continued to *March 25, 1742*, as a new Indication, that it was to become a Perpetuity.

March 13. Mr. *W. Bromley* having first taken Notice, That the Call of the House

having been adjourn'd to a very remote Day on a general Opinion, that no *Vote of Credit* would that Year be propos'd, and therefore that no fuller House was to be expected, made a Motion for the *Repeal* of the *Septennial Act*, and was nobly supported by Sir *John St. Aubin*, who seconded the said Motion. A long and vehement Debate succeeded; in the Course of which, the Mischiefs of *Standing Parliaments* were render'd as clear and manifest as those of *Standing Armies*; and many Gentlemen distinguished themselves in the Defence of the Liberties of their Country; but none more than Sir *William Wyndham*, -who thus expressed himself, to the just Admiration of all who heard him,

“ We have been told, Sir, in this House, that no Faith is to be given to Prophecies; therefore, I shall not pretend to prophesy; but I may * *suppose*, a Case, which, tho' it has not yet happened, may possibly happen. Let us then *suppose*, a Man abandoned to all Notions of *Virtue* or *Honour*; of no great Family, and of but a mean Fortune, raised to

* In Opposition to this Picture of an All-corrupting, All-engrossing Minister, Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer* was pleased to lay out his whole Stock of Rhetoric, to set forth the Image of an ambitious, factious *Anti-Minister*.

be *chief Minister of State*, by the Concurrency of many whimsical Events ; afraid or unwilling to trust any but *Creatures of his own making*, and most of them *equally abandoned to all Notions of Virtue or Honour* ; ignorant of the *true Interest* of his Country, and consulting nothing but that of *enriching and aggrandizing himself* and his *Favourites* ; in foreign Affairs, trusting none but such whose *Education* makes it *impossible* for them to have such *Knowledge* or such *Qualifications* as can either be of *Service* to their Country, or give any *Weight* or *Credit* to their *Negotiations* : Let us *suppose* the *true Interest* of the Nation by such Means *neglected or misunderstood*, her *Honour* and *Credit* *lost*, her *Trade* *insulted*, her *Merchants plundered*, and her *Sailors murdered* ; and all these Things *overlooked*, only for fear his *Administration* should be *endangered* : Suppose him next possessed of great Wealth, the *Plunder* of the Nation, with a Parliament of his *own choosing*, most of their Seats *purchased*, and their Votes *bought* at the *Expence* of *public Treasure* : In such a Parliament, let us suppose Attempts made to *enquire* into his Conduct, or to *relieve* the Nation from the *Distress* he has brought upon it ; and when Lights proper for attaining those Ends are called for, not perhaps for
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the *Information* of the particular Gentlemen who call for them, but because nothing can be done in a *Parliamentary Way*, till these Things be in a *proper Way* laid before Parliament ; suppose these Lights *refused*, these reasonable Requests *rejected* by a *corrupt Majority* of his Creatures, whom he retains in *daily Pay*, or engages in his *particular Interest*, by granting them those Posts and Places which ought never to be given to *any* but for the *Good* of the Public : Upon this *scandalous Victory*, let us suppose this *chief Minister* pluming himself in *Defiances*, because he finds he has got a *Parliament*, like a *packed Jury*, ready to *acquit* him at *all Adventures* : Let us farther suppose him arrived to that Degree of Insolence and Arrogance, as to *domineer* over *all* the Men of ancient Families, all the Men of Sense, Figure or Fortune in the Nation ; and as he has no *Virtue* of his *own*, ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to *destroy* or *corrupt* it in ALL.

“ I am still not *prophefying*, Sir, I am only *supposing* ; and the Case I am going to suppose I hope never will happen : but *with such* a Minister, and *such* a Parliament, let us suppose a Prince upon the Throne, either for want of true Information, or for some other Reason, ignorant and unacquainted

quainted with the Inclinations and the Interest of his People, weak, and hurried away by unbounded Ambition and insatiable *Avarice* : This Case, Sir, has never yet happened in this Nation ; I hope, I say, 'twill never exist ; but as it is possible it may, could any greater Curse happen to a Nation, than such a Prince on the Throne, *advised* and *solely advised* by such a Minister, and that *Minister* supported by *such a Parliament* ? The Nature of Mankind cannot be altered by human Laws, the *Existence* of *such a Prince*, or *such a Minister*, we cannot *prevent* by Act of Parliament, but the Existence of such a Parliament, I think, we MAY ; and as such a Parliament is much more likely to exist, and may do more Mischief while the *Septennial* Law remains in Force, than if it were repealed, therefore I am most heartily for the *Repeal* of it."

But neither the *Fear* of what *might* be, nor the *Knowledge* of what *was*, had any Effect : The House divided ; and the Motion was rejected by 247 against 184.

We are now drawing to a Close of this thorough-pac'd Parliament ; and we shall find by their last Acts, as well as their first, that scarce any Parliament before them did *more* to oblige the Crown, or *less* to serve the

the People : For, notwithstanding all that had already pass'd in the House, relating to *Votes of Credit*, so late as *March 28*, we find Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer* presenting the following Message to the House :

GEORGE R.

“ His Majesty very thankfully acknow-
 “ ledges the Zeal and Affection which this
 “ Parliament has shewn, in the early Dis-
 “ patch they have already made in the ne-
 “ cessary Supplies for the Public Service.
 “ But the War which has broke out in *Eu-*
 “ *rope*, still unhappily continuing, His Ma-
 “ jesty has nothing more at Heart than to
 “ see that Flame extinguished, and to *avoid*,
 “ if possible, the engaging His Subjects in
 “ the *Hazards* and *Expence* of a *War*; be-
 “ being at the same time desirous neither
 “ to give any just *Alarm* to other Nations,
 “ nor subject himself to any *unprovoked In-*
 “ *sults*,—In this View, and to the End that
 “ His Majesty's Endeavours, in Conjunction
 “ with His Allies, for procuring an *Accom-*
 “ *modation*, may in due time have the de-
 “ sired Effect, and that His Majesty may be
 “ in a *Condition* to make good such *Engage-*
 “ *ments* as *Honour*, *Justice*, and *Prudence*
 “ may call upon him to *fulfil* or *contract*,
 “ and that his Kingdom may not be left *ex-*
 “ *posed* to any desperate Attempts, during
 “ such

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“ such time as it may be impossible for His
“ Majesty to have the immediate Advice
“ and Assistance of his Great Council, upon
“ any Emergency arising from the present
“ Posture of Affairs in *Europe*, which may
“ nearly concern the *Interest* and *Safety* of
“ *these Kingdoms*; His Majesty hopes, he
“ shall be enabled and supported by his
“ Parliament, in making such *future Aug-*
“ *mentation of his Forces, either by Sea or*
“ *Land, as may be absolutely necessary for the*
“ *Honour and Defence of His Kingdom*; and
“ *in concerting such Measures as the Exigency*
“ *of Affairs may require.* Whatever Aug-
“ mentations shall be made, or Services
“ performed on Account thereof, shall be
“ laid before the *next Parliament.*”

As this Message was quite a Surprise to the *Minority*, and as many of them had already taken Leave of the Town, in order to attend the Elections, Mr. *Shippen* and Sir *William Wyndham* exerted themselves to put off the Consideration of it, till those Gentlemen might have Notice how much it concern'd them, to return once more to their Duty in Parliament: But the *Minister* was still too mighty for them; and the very next Day was appointed for the Decision of this important Affair; when Sir *R. W.* open'd the Debate, gave the House to understand, that

that even from his MAJESTY'S *Speech*, something of this Nature might have been *expected*, and concluded with a Motion, 'To declare the *Duty* and *Fidelity* of this House to his Majesty, and the *entire Confidence* they repose in his Royal Care,' &c.

To this Mr. *Shippen* reply'd as follows:

" I am glad to find that the Honourable Gentleman has now discovered a Meaning in his Majesty's Speech at the Opening of this Session, which he could *not*, it seems, discover the *first Day* of the Session: He was, or pretended, at least, to be so far from *discovering* at that Time any *such Meaning* in his Majesty's Speech as he has now shewn to us, that he seemed very much *surprised* any Gentleman should have the least *Apprehensions* of such a *Meaning*. I, as well as several Gentlemen round me, remember well the Gentleman's very Words upon that Occasion; I remember, when I intimated then to the House my Fears, that some such thing as a *Vote of Credit* was intended, he said, he believed *no Man* alive but myself could *dream* of any such thing; but now we are told, that, from his Majesty's Manner of expressing himself upon that Occasion, every Gentleman in the House must have *expected* a Demand of such a Nature as what is now before us: I did, indeed, from what his
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Majesty said, expect a Demand for a *Vote of Credit* ; but I little expected that That Demand would have been attended with such other extraordinary Demands as are contained in the Message now under Consideration.

“ As no sufficient Time has been given, Sir, for Gentlemen to consider of this extraordinary Demand from the Crown, as no Information has been given us by the Honourable Gentleman who spoke last, from whom, I believe, every Gentleman in this House expected a full Information, with respect to the Reasons the Crown may have for making such a Demand ; Gentlemen, like me, who are kept at a Distance from the Secrets of the Administration, have no way left to judge but according to what appears upon the Face of the Message ; and from thence I must judge, that the Demand now made upon us is entirely new, and very extraordinary. As I said before, it is a Demand for a *total Surrender* of all the *Rights of Parliament* ; for we are now, it seems, to give the King a Power of raising what *Money he pleases* ; *we are to give him a Power of raising what Military Force he pleases without Consent of Parliament* : Are not these the two Rights, upon which *all* the other Rights of Parliament depend ? Is not the Controul we have over these Two, the

the only Handle by which we can, or dare vindicate any other Right that belongs to us? And after the Surrender of these Two, can it be said that we have any Right, or at least, that we dare claim any Right, but such as the Crown shall vouchsafe from Time to Time to allow us?"

There is no need to proceed either with the Residue of this Speech or the Debate. *Votes of Credit* are now too well understood to need any Explanation; I shall, therefore, add no more, than that *entire Confidence* carried it by 248 against 147.

And, *April* 18, his Majesty clos'd the Scene with a gracious Speech; out of which I shall select but two Paragraphs by way of Specimen of the whole.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" The Time limited for the Expiration
 " of this Parliament drawing near, I have
 " resolved forthwith to issue my Proclama-
 " tion for the dissolving of it, and for call-
 " ing a new Parliament, that the *Inconve-*
 " *niencies* unavoidably attending a general
 " Election, may be put an End to as soon
 " as possible; but I should think My Self
 " inexcusable, if I parted with this Parlia-
 " ment without doing them the Justice to
 " acknowledge the many signal Proofs they
 " have given, thro' the Course of SEVEN
 " Years,

“ *Years, of their Duty, Fidelity, and Attachment* to My Person and Government,
 “ and their constant Regard to the *true Interest* of their Country.”

“ I have nothing to wish but that My
 “ People may not be *misguided*; I appeal to
 “ their *own Consciences* for My Conduct, and
 “ hope the *Providence of GOD* will DIRECT
 “ them in the Choice of such Representatives,
 “ as are most *fit* to be trusted with
 “ the *Care and Preservation of the Protestant Religion, the present Establishment,*
 “ and all the RELIGIOUS and CIVIL RIGHTS
 “ of *Great Britain.*”

It is here necessary to remind the Reader of what was said, *p. 425*, of *England's Guarantying the Pragmatic Sanction*, in Return for the Concessions made by the Emperor to *Hanover*; and of the *Million of Rix-Dollars*, which was, at the same Time, agreed to be paid to the Duke of *Holstein*, that *Denmark* might hold *Sleswick* in Peace, under the Guaranty of the *Emperor and Russia*:

For it was now thought high Time to make *Denmark* easy, as to that *Equivalent*; which, it seems, she thought herself no way oblig'd to make good; as having already parted with *Bremen and Verden* on that Account.

Accordingly, on the Strength of the *Vote of Credit*, which had been the Legacy of the

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the last Parliament, when just expiring, a very handsome Sum of ready Money was not only advanc'd to his *Danish* Majesty, but we also struck up a Treaty with him, *Sept.* 19, 1734, by which this Nation was to pay 250,000 Crowns a Year for Three Years, by way of Consideration for 6000 Men; which, with the Levy-Money, amounted to a good Million of Rix-Dollars, and thereby fully answer'd the *Equivalent* before-mentioned.

It must farther be observ'd, That at the Time of making this Bargain, there was not the least Shadow of a Pretence left of our engaging in the Cause of the Emperor, for the Support of the *Pragmatic Sanction*; not only because the opposite Interest of *Hanover* forbid it, but because the *Dutch* the very Year before (1733) had sign'd an Act of *Neutrality* with *France*.

But, in the mean while, though *France* had the highest Obligation to *Great Britain* for a *Neutrality*, which had so visibly facilitated the Conquest of *Italy* for the Allies, and consequently *Britain* had all the Reason in the World to expect the most grateful Returns from a Power whom She had so particularly obliged, yet the 4th of November, N. S. the following extraordinary Edict had been published in *Paris*.

By

By the KING.

HIS Majesty being informed, that there is a considerable Number of *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish*, in his good City of *Paris*, and spread over the other Towns and Provinces of his Kingdom, the greatest Part of whom have serv'd in his Troops, and even in the Regiments of their Nation, who are in his Pay; and being resolved not to suffer within his Dominions, Persons *who are here as Vagabonds*, and without any visible Support, when at the same time they may be usefully employ'd in the said Regiments, his Majesty expressly enjoins all the *Irish*, *English*, and *Scotch*, who are in his good City of *Paris*, and in other Towns and Places of his Kingdom, *without Callings or Employments*, from the Age of Eighteen to Fifty, and able to carry Arms, *whether they have or have not been heretofore in the Irish Regiments* which are in his Majesty's Service, to repair immediately to the Garrisons mentioned at the Foot of these Presents, where the said Regiments now actually are, and there to join and take on with them, under the Penalty, to such as have already served, to be treated as Deserters, according to the Rigour of the Ordinances, and the others *to be treated as Vagabonds, and condemned to the*

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Galleys.

Galleys. His Majesty also orders and commands all Provosts of the *Marechaussy*, and other Officers of the Short Robe, to seek after and *seize those of the said Nations*, who, in Disobedience to the present Ordinance, shall be found in *Paris*, or in any of the other Cities, Towns, and Places of this Kingdom, 15 Days after it has been made public, to be proceeded against according to the Contents of it.

As soon as this Edict appeared, what they call the Officers of the Short Robe in *France* immediately put it in Execution with the utmost Severity and Rigour; a great many *British* Subjects were immediately seiz'd, and the Prisons of *Paris* began to be crowded with *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish*, all destin'd by the Court of *Versailles*, either to carry a Musket, or be sent to the *Gallics*. None of those injured Persons were even permitted to advertise their Friends and *French* Acquaintances of the cruel Treatment they met with, and several of them having been surprized, as well as taken, they must have perished in Goal through Hunger and Cold, at that Time of the Year; had it not been for the active Charity of the *Jansenists*, who found Means to send them Relief. Such a Proceeding could not be long a Secret in *Britain*; the next Mail brought us
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an Account of it; and our News Papers began to make so brisk an Opposition, on this Side of the Water, to that inhuman Proceeding; while his Excellency the Earl of *Waldegrave*, his Majesty's Ambassador in *Paris*, made such vigorous *Remonstrances* to the Court of *France*, on the other, that the *French* Ministry found they had taken a very wrong Step in so critical a Conjunction. Upon which They explain'd their Edict by another; the Prisons were open'd, and the *British* Subjects set at Liberty.

In the mean time, the Distresses of the *Emperor* multiply'd every Day; and in a very pathetic Memorial to the *Maritime Powers*, he at once set forth the many Sacrifices he had made for the Preservation of the public Peace, and the unanswerable Reasons he had to demand, and depend upon their Assistance.

"The *Emperor*, saith the Memorial, without ceasing, solicited again and again for a Performance of those Guaranties which have been promis'd him; he knows too well the Value of them, ever to be capable of giving them up, or so much as inclined to desist from the Demand; the obtaining of these Guaranties was his only Motive for consenting to the establishing a Prince of the House of *Bourbon* in *Italy*, for evacuating

ting *Parma* and *Placentia*; for allowing *Spanish* Garrisons to be introduced into the fortify'd Places of *Tuscany*; and for his rejecting all the Offers and all the Prophecies of the Court of *Spain*, founded upon the secret Insinuations of that of *France*. It is in vain for People to flatter themselves with re-establishing the Public Tranquility, and rendering it more secure for the future by a new Treaty, 'till the preceding Treaties be made effectual. His Imperial Majesty neither desires, nor wishes, any Thing more, than to see them fulfill'd in all their Articles: and after the Efforts which he has made for preserving the Liberty of *Europe*, it cannot be deny'd, but that it may be very easy to warrant it against any Attempt for a long Time to come, providing only that he be effectually supported. As the Emperor is not in a Condition to make always the same Efforts; the two Maritime Powers can NEVER have an Opportunity, when it will cost them LESS, to establish firmly and speedily a lasting Peace in *Europe*, and to secure the Advantages of their Commerce in such a Manner, that they may no longer be subject to the Caprices of the Court of *Spain*.

Unfortunately! the *Emperor* has never been deceived in what he has foreseen or foretold, with respect to the Consequences of

of the *Increase of Power* in the House of *Bourbon*: At present he foresees Consequences *more fatal* and *less remote* than any he has ever foreseen: He desires to prevent them, and he will endeavour it to the utmost of his Power. He does not seek to aggrandize himself; all his Views are bounded, in being able to employ his Forces, for the *Preservation* of his Territories, for that of the Empire, whose Interests are so dear to him, *and for the Repose of others*. The greatest Part of the Advantage arising from thence will accrue to his Allies, from whom he is, and always will be inseparable. It sticks on them to break those Bands with which all *Europe* is threaten'd by the House of *Bourbon*: The fulfilling of those Guaranties, which have been stipulated by Treaties, is the *only Method* for securing so great an Advantage, and that is what the Emperor demands, in the most friendly and the most emphatical Manner he can think of.

By way of Answer to the Representations made the 17th of this Month, by the Ministers of his *Britannic* Majesty, and my Lords the States General of the United Provinces of the Low-Countries, the Emperor is not against their taking the Method of employing their GOOD OFFICES, *if by that Method they can religiously perform all that is*

required by Treaties, and if by that Method, the Execution of them be no longer retarded.

But at the same time the Emperor believes, That at this Time of Day, *to content themselves with employing ONLY their GOOD OFFICES, will expose all Europe to a much greater Danger."*

We must now return to our domestic Affairs.

It is yet fresh in every Body's Memory, how extremely odious the Majority of the last Parliament had made themselves to the Public, by their uniformly acting as the *Agents of the Minister*, instead of fulfilling their Duty as the *Representatives of the People*.

When, therefore, the *People* were once more indulg'd with an Opportunity of putting that great Trust into cleaner Hands, it was scarce to be conceiv'd, that they would again traffic it away.

But *let the Tree be known by its FRUITS.*

Jan. 14, both Houses met, and 1734-5. Mr. Onslow was again unanimously chosen Speaker by the *Commons*, and on the 23d the King made his most gracious Speech; in which his Majesty sets out with taking it for granted, That the present Posture of Affairs was so well known, that
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both Houses came ready prepar'd to act in a manner suitable to the Crisis.

He then referred to his Speech, at the Opening of the last Session, in which he told them, he was no otherwise engag'd than by his GOOD OFFICES in the Transactions that were declar'd to be the Cause of the present Troubles, and that he was determin'd to act in *concert* with the *States*, &c.

In the following Paragraphs, he signify'd, That he had accordingly proceeded in this great Affair with the *mutual Confidence* which subsisted between him and that *Republica* : That, having consider'd the *pressing Applications* made by the *Imperial Court* for *Succours*, and the *repeated Professions* made by the Allies on the other Side, of their *sincere Disposition* to put an *End* to the present Troubles, &c. He had *concurred* in a Resolution taken by the *States*, to use their *joint Instances* to bring about an *Accommodation*, before they came to a Determination, upon the *Succours* demanded by the *Emperor* : That these Instances, at last, had been *accepted* of : That he hop'd, in a *short Time*, a Plan would be offered for a *general Negotiation* : That he did not take upon him to *answer* for the *Success* of it : But that when a Proceeding was founded upon Reason, it would be inexcusable not to attempt a Work, which

which might produce infinite Benefits and Advantages, and can be of no Prejudice, if we do not suffer ourselves to be so far *amused* by Hopes, that may possibly be afterwards disappointed, as to leave ourselves exposed to real Dangers.

His Majesty added afterwards, among other Things: "I have made Use of the Power, which the late Parliament entrusted me with, with great *Moderation*; and I have concluded a Treaty with the Crown of *Denmark*, of great Importance in the present Conjunction.

"The *Sense* of the Nation is best to be learned by the *Choice* of their *Representatives*; and I am persuaded, That the Behaviour and Conduct of my faithful Commons will demonstrate to all the World the unshaken Fidelity and Attachment of my good Subjects to my Person and Government.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"It is our Happiness to have continued hitherto in a State of Peace; but whilst many of the principal Powers of *Europe* are engaged in War, the Consequences must more or less affect us; and as the best concerted Measures are liable to Uncertainty, we ought to be in a Readiness, and prepar'd against all Events."

There is no need to particularize the
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Motion for an Address of Thanks, upon this Occasion; tho' rather more general and modest than usual, it was, like all the former, *ministerial* enough o'Conscience. The Gentlemen in the *Opposition*; therefore, only endeavour'd, tho' in vain, to parry the Force of it by an Amendment, in which they were for granting Supplies only in *Proportion to the Expences to be incurred by the OTHER POWERS, who were under the same Engagements with this Nation*; which Amendment was thus supported:

“ The *Ballance of Power* in *Europe*, is certainly of as much Consequence to *other Nations* as it is to this; and when it comes to be really in Danger, it is not to be question'd but we shall find *other Powers* as ready to *join with us*, as we are to *join with them*, for its *Preservation*; and unless we shew too much Readiness to bear *all* the Expence, it is also certain, that those who are in *equal Danger*, will never refuse to bear their *proportionable* Share of the Expence: But if ever this Nation should set itself up as the *Don Quixot* of *Europe*, we may then expect that most of the Powers of *Europe*, who are not immediately attack'd, will leave the *whole Burden* upon us; and this, I am afraid, is too much the Case at present; for as our Neighbours the *Dutch*, are *more exposed* to the

the *Danger* than we are, I must conclude from their *Inactivity*, that either they do *not* think the *Ballance* of Power in *Danger*, or otherwise we have given them Room to believe, that we will take upon us the *Defence* of this Ballance, without putting them to any Trouble or Expence; and for this Reason I think it is become absolutely necessary for us to give some such Recommendation to his Majesty, as is proposed by this Amendment, in order to convince the World, that we are not to set ourselves up as the *Don Quixots* of Europe, &c.

Some Days after, a Motion was made by those in the Minority, That an humble Address should be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give Directions to the proper Officer or Officers, to lay before that House an Account of the Expences incurred, in Consequence and by Virtue of the Vote of Credit and Confidence, which was passed in that House towards the End of the last Session of Parliament.

To which Motion it was objected, That the House had then before them what was proposed to be desired by the Address moved for; for in one Account they had the whole of the Expences that had been incurred by any Addition made to the Sea Service, in consequence of that Vote of Credit; in another

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ther they had an Account of the whole Expences that had been incurred by any Addition made to the Land Service; and in a Third they had an Account of what had been incurred on Occasion of the Treaty lately concluded with *Denmark*: Besides all which, they had an Account of what Monies had been issued from the Treasury for all, or either of these Services: That the presenting of such an Address would, in their Opinion, shew a Want of Respect to his Majesty, and a Sort of Jealousy and Diffidence in what he had already order'd to be laid before them.

It was by the Division upon this Question, that the Nation was to be taught, how much or how little their *Septennial* Right of returning a *new* Representative was worth; and whether the *Redress* of *Grievances* was any longer to make any Part of the Business of *Parliaments*: When, lo, it appeared, That the hated *Minister*, who had so lately made so open an Attempt to sacrifice the *last* Remains of Liberty; and who, for that Cause, had been publicly burnt in *Effigy*, had as great a Majority as ever against the *Nation*; the Number on his Side being 265 against 185.

The next important Motion was for 30000 Seamen, which was vigorously opposed

posed by the Anti-Courtiers, who made it appear unanswerably, that * 20000 were more than sufficient to answer all the honest Purposes of an honest Administration.

The principal Arguments of those in Power were to this Effect :

“ Whatever might have been the *Views* of the Parties engaged at the *Beginning* of the War, yet, upon seeing this Nation put itself in such a *Posture of Defence*, they all thought proper to *drop* any *ambitious Views* they might then entertain, by *accepting* of the *good Offices* his Majesty had offer'd: Their *ready Compliance* in this respect, can be attributed to nothing but the *Preparations* we made last Year, and the *Powers* that were *granted* by last Session of Parliament to his Majesty; for *by these* we deprived them of all Hopes of succeeding in any of their ambitious Views. It was *this* that produced an *Acceptation* of the *good Offices* his Majesty had offer'd; and if we should slacken in our Measures, if we should *discontinue* our Preparations, it would render us *despicable* in the Eyes of all the Parties engaged in War, and would consequently disappoint the good Effects we have Reason to expect from that Acceptation.”

* The Number granted the Session before; to which his Majesty had added 7000 more during the Recess.

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To which it was reply'd, " That the Preparations we made last Year, or the Powers granted by last Session of Parliament to his Majesty, *produced* the *Acceptation* of our good Offices, is something very surprizing; especially when we consider what *Sort* of an *Acceptation* we have been favour'd with: The *Emperor* has accepted of our good Offices under this *express* Provision, That his Acceptance should not be looked on as a passing from those *Succours* which he insisted on, we were obliged to furnish him, by the Treaties now subsisting between us: And the Allies have likewise made their Acceptation *conditional*; for they have accepted of our good Offices under this *express* Condition, That we should continue *neutral*, with respect to the present Disputes between them and the *Emperor*. Can it be imagined, that *warlike* Preparations were *necessary*, or that *extraordinary Powers* granted by Parliament, were *necessary* for producing such *limited Acceptations*? Can any Man doubt but that we would have obtained *such* an Acceptation of our good Offices, tho' *no* such Preparations had ever been made, tho' *no* such Powers had ever been granted. But even supposing that this *Acceptation* was produced by the *warlike Preparations* we made last Year, must not every Man agree, That this

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conditional, limited Acceptation has cost us a terrible Price, when he considers, that it has cost this Nation at least a Million *Sterling*; and if the *Plan* we are to offer, in pursuance of this Acceptation, should at last be REJECTED, what Benefit, what Honour can we receive from the Expences we have put our selves to?"

Much more was urg'd, but all to so little Purpose, that upon dividing the House, the Court carry'd their Point by 256 against 183.

Some few Days after the *Standing Army* came likewise under Deliberation, when another *ministerial* Motion was made, That the Number of effective Men, &c. should be 25744, which, notwithstanding the *pacific Plan* we were still pursuing, viz. of interposing in the present Troubles of *Europe* with our *good Offices* only, was carry'd by 261 against 208.

The next remarkable Motion was made by Sir *William Wyndham*, viz. That the ordinary Estimate of the Navy for the Year 1735, might be referred to a *Select Committee*, according to Two Precedents of the like Nature, which had taken place in the Second and Third Years of *K. William*: To shew the Necessity of which, he took Notice, That in the *Navy Accounts*, then upon

upon the Table, there was one Article of very near 250,000 *l.* charged, not for the Building of *Ships*, but for the Building of *Houses*; adding, whether such Houses were necessary, I shall not now pretend to determine, but if they were, I think it is *too* large a Sum for any Minister, or for any *Administration* to have expended, without a previous *Authority* from *Parliament*, and That, I am sure, was never so much as *asked for*. What the present may think of such a Sum, or what the Gentlemen of this House may think of such a Sum, I do not know; but I am sure their Ancestors, even those of the very last Age, would have been extremely shy of loading the People with, at least, a Six-pence in the Pound upon all the Lands in *Great Britain*, for no other Purpose but that of building Houses for the *Commissioners* and other *Officers* belonging to the *Admiralty*; and I must think it a little extraordinary to see *Ministers*, of their *own Heads*, undertake to do That which even Parliaments of old would scarcely have undertaken to have done; and afterwards, we have been *cajoled* and made *believe*, That what we were spending *yearly* was no more than the Taxes *yearly* raised would *answer*: These Taxes have been chearfully granted by Parliament, and as chearfully paid by the

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People,

People, in full Expectation that these were all that were *necessary* for answering our *annual Expence*; but now, Sir, when we are in Danger of being brought into a great, but unforeseen Expence, we are told, that we have run much in *Arrear*; That a great Debt has been contracted; and, That for the Payment of this Debt, we must either *mortgage* those Funds which ought to be reserved for a *Time of Danger*, or we must lay *violent and impious* Hands upon those *Funds* which have been long ago declared *sacred*, and *religiously* appropriated for relieving us from those heavy Burthens we at present groan under."

But they were deaf to the Voice of the Charmer: all Enquiries, it seems, tended to create *Fears* and *Jealousies* among the People, and to give them *Suspensions* of his *Majesty's Government*. Upon a Division, therefore, the *Negative* carry'd the Day by 198 against 160: And when a Motion was made for committing Mr. Sandys's PLACE-BILL, upon the second Reading, it was likewise over-ruled by 216 against 192.

For the same Reason, That these Gentlemen could so frequently say no to the People, they could never once say NO to the King. Thus when a Motion was made for granting 56,250 *l.* on account of the Subsidy

dy payable to the King of *Denmark*, it pass'd in the Affirmative by 270 to 158.

And when another was made for applying a Million out of that *sacred Deposit* the *Sinking Fund*, towards the current Service, it met with the like Success.

In one Word, this Parliament took effectual Care, in their very first Session, to convince all the World, that they were resolv'd to tread in every Footstep of the *last*; which, no doubt, afforded very comfortable Reflections to their *Constituents*.

May 15, His Majesty was pleas'd to put an End to the Session with a most gracious Speech; in which are the following remarkable Particulars:

“ I have consider'd, with great Care and Attention, the present Situation of *Europe*, and duly weigh'd the Consequences that may arise from the Progress of the War, either by Means of its becoming more *general*, or continuing *only* to be carry'd on between the Powers already engaged.

“ An *Accommodation* of these unhappy Troubles, appeared to be the best Means to prevent the Dangers that are to be apprehended on either Side. In this View, a Plan of Pacification was concerted between Me and the *States General*, with great Impartiality, and not without reasonable Grounds to

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hope for Success; *altho' it hath not had the desired Effect.*

“ But all further Resolutions to be taken in this important and critical Conjunction, will be principally determined by *future Events*. This makes it *impossible* for Me, at present, to take the *previous* Advice and Concurrence of my *Parliament*, in such Measures as may become absolutely necessary to be entered into.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I return you my hearty Thanks for the Supplies you have, with so much Chearfulness and Dispatch, gramed for the Service of the current Year; which have been so effectually raised, and accompany'd with so *seasonable* an *Augmentation* of our Forces by Sea and Land, that I shall be in a *Condition* to make *Use* of them in the most *advantageous Manner* for the public Service, as any *Occasion*, that may *happen* to arise, shall require.

“ As I think it *necessary* this Summer to visit my *Dominions* in *Germany*, it is my Intention to appoint the Queen Regent here during my Absence, of whose just and prudent Administration you have, on the like Occasion, had Experience.”

Thus we have it acknowledg'd, at last, from the Throne, That the Million extraordinary,

dinary, which our pacific Measures had cost us was thrown away.

But let us refer to the Fact itself. On the 8th of *May*, N. S. *Monf. Fenelon*, the *French* Ambassador at the *Hague*, desired a Set Conference with their High Mightinesses Committee for foreign Affairs, which being fix'd according, his Excellency spoke to them to the following Effect :

“ His Most Christian Majesty having maturely examin'd the Articles of the Plan of Peace, and having caused Conferences to be holden upon that Subject with his Allies, he finds, as well as the Kings of *Spain* and *Sardinia*, that *None* of the Articles thereof is acceptable; and therefore his Most Christian Majesty is oblig'd to declare, THAT HE REJECTS IT ENTIRELY. However, he declares, That he is still in *Dispositions advantageous* for *Peace*, provided it be stipulated on *reasonable* Conditions; and that he should be very well pleased, if the *Mediators* would draw up a *new Plan* of Accommodation, and leave out *every Article* contain'd in the former.”

Nor was this all ; for, as if the Fate of our favourite Plan had not given us Mortification enough already, and as if the Allies were resolv'd to put our Patience and good Humour to the utmost Stretch, the *French*

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King, as it was said, expressed himself in the following Manner to a Minister of *Great Britain*:

“ Nothing interests me in the present War so much as *Poland*; my Honour is highly concern'd in it: It's indifferent to *England* what Prince reigns there, having no Interest therein: The Conquests which my *Allies* have made in *Italy* are more immediately their Concern than mine; as soon as *they* shall be satisfy'd about them, I shall be content: But in the mean time, I will do my utmost Endeavour in *Germany* to *weaken* my *Enemies*. I have already declared, That I would not keep *Possession* of any of the *Places* that I should take; *England* may be assur'd of it from the Promise I have made her: She would have given me infinite Satisfaction in her Mediation, if she had not at the same time *arm'd* herself; but I would have her know, *That no Power in Europe shall give Law to me.* And this you may communicate to your MASTER.”

Upon this his Excellency Mr. *H. Walpole*, then Embassador from *England* to the *States*, presents a fierce *Memorial* to their High Mightinesses, requiring them to *augment* their *Forces* both by *Sea* and *Land*, and to act in Concurrence with the King his Master, who had already done the same.

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But this Flash soon expir'd in Smoak, as usual. The *Emperor* and *France*, when it was least expected, rush'd into each others Arms. *France* gave up *Stanislaus* in *Poland*, whom it could no longer defend; procured the whole Duchies of *Lorain* and *Bar* for itself, and left *Spain* in quiet Possession of *Naples* and *Sicily*, which had been rent from the House of *Austria* in the late War.

But, if our *Ministers* refus'd to give the least Succours to the poor *Emperor*, when at such great Extremity, they had abundantly more Complaisance for the rich King of *Portugal*; who, having quarrell'd with *Spain*, and being under no small Apprehensions for his *Brazil* Fleet, made his Application to *Great Britain* for Aid and Assistance; which was readily and chearfully granted, as far as yet appears, without Fee or Reward; and Sir *John Norris*, with a Squadron of Twenty-six Men of War, and two Fire Ships, was accordingly dispatched to take the *Portuguese* under his Majesty's Protection.

Such was the State of *Europe*, when the King return'd from his favourite German Dominions, to resume the Drudgery of reigning over his way-ward, refractory *British* Subjects: And Jan. 15, in his most gracious Speech to both Houses, 1735-6.

his Majesty first took Notice of the happy Turn which the Affairs of *Europe* had taken, since the Close of the last Session; remind- ed them next of what he had then declar'd relating to the Miscarriage of the *Plan of Pacification* concerted between him and the *States-General*; which, continued He, had not the *Effect* to prevent the opening of the Campaign: The Armies took the Field; and the War was carry'd on in some Parts, in such a Manner, as to give very *just* Apprehensions, that it would *unavoidably* become *general*, from an *absolute Necessity* of preserving that *Balance of Power*, on which the Safety and Commerce of the Maritime Powers so much depend.

“This Consideration determined Me to persevere, jointly with the *States*, in repeating our most earnest *Instances* to the Contending Parties to agree to an *Armistice*, and to enter into a Negotiation for obtaining a general Peace, upon the Basis of the Plan We had proposed to them.”

“Whilst Affairs continued in this State of Deliberation, the Heat and Fury of the War abated; and the *Emperor* and the Most *Christian King*, in Consequence of their repeated Professions of a sincere Disposition to put an End to the War, by an honourable and solid Peace, concerted and agreed upon certain
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certain *preliminary* Articles, to answer that most desirable End. An Armistice is since agreed to by all the Parties engag'd in the War; and the contracting Powers, in regard to the good Offices employ'd by Me and the States, have communicated to Us, by their respective Ministers, the *Preliminaries*, desiring Our *Concurrence* for effectuating a general Pacification, upon the *Terms* THEREBY stipulated.

“ It appearing, upon due Examination, that these Articles do not essentially vary from the Plan proposed by Me and the States, nor contain any thing *prejudicial* to the *Equilibre* of *Europe*, or to the Rights and Interests of Our respective Subjects; We have thought fit, in pursuance of Our constant Purpose, to contribute Our Utmost towards a general Pacification, to declare, by a joint Resolution, to the Courts of *Vienna* and *France*, Our *Approbation* of the said Preliminaries, and Our Readiness to concur in a Treaty to be made for bringing them to Perfection, &c.

“ In these Circumstances, my first Care was to ease the Burthens of my People, as soon, and as far as Prudence, in the present Posture of Affairs, would permit. I have therefore order'd a considerable Reduction to be made of my Forces, both by Sea and Land;

Land; and, if the Influence of the Crown of Great Britain, and the Respect due to this Nation, have had any Share in *composing* the present Troubles in Europe, or preventing new ones, I am persuaded you will be of Opinion, That it will be necessary to continue some *extraordinary* Expence, until there be a more perfect Reconciliation among the several Powers of Europe.

Upon the Report of this gracious Speech to the Commons, a most loyal and obliging Address of *Thanks* was in Return mov'd for, and agreed to, without any Amendment or Division; even the most remarkable if, which stared every Body in the Face, no Body would see: And, except a Recommendation of Mr. *Skippen's*, supported by Mr. *W. Plummer*, that the Reduction mentioned in the Speech might be by * *whole Regiments*, not by diminishing the Number of private Men in each, as had been of late practis'd, the Day produc'd nothing in behalf of the People worth Remembrance.

But for whatever Reason there was such a dead Silence observed in the *lower* House, in the *Upper*, we find the following shrewd

* Which, upon 8000 Men, produc'd a Saving to the Public of 76,369 *l* yearly, more, in the first Case, than in the last.

Queries made, upon the like Occasion ; which, to this very Hour, seem to remain unanswered.

“ Can it be said, That our adding 6 or 7000 Men to our Land Forces had so frightened *France*, as to make them give up any of those Pretensions they had seriously at Heart ? Can it be alledg’d, That our Squadrons made them give up the Affair of *Poland*, when the whole World knows we never sent so much as one Ship into the *Baltick* ? Or, can it be said, That our Squadrons set Limits to any of their Designs in *Italy*, without ever appearing in the *Mediterranean* ? Whatever his Majesty’s Endeavours were, we may judge from the Event, That he could have no Hand in the Peace that has been concluded ; for I am convinced, his Majesty never did, nor ever would use the least Endeavours for annexing to the Crown of *France*, for ever, the whole Dominions of the Duke of *Lorain* ; and as this was apparently the Motive which induced *France* to sacrifice all her other Views, as well as most of the Views of her Allies, how can we say in our Address, with any Appearance of Truth, That the Peace was owing to our Preparations, or any of his Majesty’s Endeavours ? Or, how can we from thence declare, That we see with Pleasure, the hap-

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py Effects of the extraordinary Supplies of late Years granted by Parliaments?"

In the Committee upon the *Supply*, Sir *Charles Wager* having mov'd, That 15000 Men should be employ'd for the Sea Service, Mr. *W. Plummer* took Occasion to make the following excellent Observations; which, not falling immediately under the Question, then before the House, appear notwithstanding, to have had little or no Weight.

"I have always observ'd, That no Foreign Prince would lend us any of his Troops, without our engaging not only to *pay* them, but to grant him a Subsidy *greater* than the Pay of those Troops, upon their own Footing, would have amounted to, and that even in Cases where the Prince stood *obliged*, perhaps by *former Treaties*, to assist us with Troops at his *own Expence*, and often in Cases where his *own Preservation* was more immediately concern'd, in the Event of the War, than *ours*.

"'Tis true, Sir, we are always obliged, upon such Occasions, to have Recourse to the Princes of the *North*, who, by Reason of their Poverty, plead an Inability to send us, or to have ready to be sent, the stipulated Succours, unless we, by a *new Contract*, agree to pay them a Subsidy; which has some Shew of Reason, or at least of *Necessity*, when they raise any *new Troops* for our Service."

Service; but I never could comprehend either the Reason or the Necessity for such a Pretence, when they make no *real* Addition to the Land Army they before kept up, nor put themselves to one Farthing of an *additional* Expende on account of their Subsidy from us; which I know has sometimes been the Case for Years together; during all which Time we have been so generous as to pay their Subsidy regularly, for enabling them to defray an Expende they never were at: At least, in the *public* Accounts, delivered to this House, those Subsidies have been yearly stated, as *fully* and regularly paid, in pursuance of the Treaties we had before approved of; tho' indeed, an *Accident* happen'd not long ago, which gave room to think that all those Subsidies had *not* been *fully* and regularly paid to the Princes so intitled to them.

“ Now, Sir, if we narrowly consider our Circumstances, I believe we shall find, that we are as *poor*, and in as great Difficulties, as the *poorest* Prince in the *North*; and as we have lately sent a very powerful Squadron to the Assistance of a very rich Prince, I make no doubt but that our wise and frugal Ministers let that Prince know, before they sent out the Squadron, that, with respect to him, we are a *Northern Power*, and as
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needy as any Power he could apply to ; and that therefore they have *obliged* him to *pay* us a *very large Subsidy*, for the powerful Squadron we sent to his Assistance.

“ I am very sure our Ministers had much *more Reason* to insist upon such a Subsidy, than the Ministers of any *Northern Power* ever had to insist upon a Subsidy from us ; for, with respect to the Breach between *Portugal* and *Spain*, it was, in my Opinion, at least as great a Question which of them were acting upon the Offensive, as it was with respect to the late Breach between *Spain* and the Emperor ; therefore we were not by any former Treaty obliged to send him any Assistance.

“ To this I must add, that it cannot be said, That the Preservation of this Nation was immediately concerned in the Event of the War between *Portugal* and *Spain* ; which has generally been the Case with respect to those Northern Princes to whom we have hitherto distributed *our Subsidies*.

“ From these Reasons, I am induced, Sir, to think, That our Ministers have certainly stipulated a large Subsidy from *Portugal* ; and I have taken Notice of it upon this Occasion, only to put Gentlemen in mind to call for an Account of this Subsidy, at a *proper Opportunity* ; and to appropriate it to
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the maintaining the 15,000 Seamen now to be voted; in order to prevent our being obliged to load the present or the future Generation with additional Taxes, or to lay violent Hands upon that Fund, which ought always to be held sacred to the Payment of our public Debts; by which only we can free our poor Labourers and Manufacturers from those Taxes which at present render the Necessaries of Life so much dearer in this Country, than they are in any other."

Two Days after, the Motion, That the ordinary Estimate of the Navy might be referred to a Select Committee, was renewed, with the same Success as before; the Numbers on dividing the House being 256 against receiving *Information*, and 155 for it.

Feb. 2. Mr. *Sandys* did himself the Honour to move, That the Supply for the current Service might be rais'd within the Year. This the Courtiers oppos'd as usual; a warm Debate ensued; in the Close of which, one of the Gentlemen, *then* of the Minority, expressed himself in the following prophetic Manner:

"The very Question now before us is, Whether we ought to lay a *Restraint* upon ourselves, with respect to the contracting of any *new Debt*, or *diverting* the *Sinking Fund* from that Use for which it was originally de-

designed, and to which it stands appropriated, by the express Words of those Acts of Parliament, by which it was established? The Restraint now proposed, is *only* for this Session; but I with the Restraint were for *all Sessions* to come; and I am sure, if we have any Regard for our Posterity, if we have any Regard for ~~the~~ present illustrious Family, if we have any Regard for the future Happiness, I may say, *Preservation* of the Nation, we shall, at least for this Session, act as if we were under such a Restraint; therefore, there can be no Harm in laying ourselves under any such; and there is the more Occasion for it, because of the *frequent Deviations* we have lately made from this *necessary Rule*; and because of the *bad Use* that may be made of some *late Precedents*: for if a Check be not speedily put to such Measures, as all Administrations are but fleeting Things, we may expect that *every Administration* will endeavour to make themselves easy, and to put off the *evil Day* as long as they can, by contracting some *new Debt* every Year, and *mortgaging* some Part of the *Sinking Fund* as long as there is a Shilling of it left. As we have at present a pretty considerable *Sinking Fund*, this Measure may, perhaps, support the present Administration as long as it can well be supposed

posed to last, especially if no War happens in the mean time; but *sad* and *melancholy* will the *Reckoning* CERTAINLY come to be at last, when we find ourselves engaged in a *dangerous* and *expensive* War, our People loaded with as *heavy* Taxes as they possibly can *bear*, and all those Taxes *mortgaged* for the Payment of Debts, except just as much as may be sufficient for the Support of our Civil Government."

About this Time their *Worships* the *Middlesex* Justices, their *Honours* the Officers of the Guards, and their *L—ds* the B—s, being equally concern'd for the Souls and Bodies of his Majesty's Liege Subjects, receiv'd Orders to make War upon the *Gin-shops*, that their Commander in Chief might have a Pretence to levy new Contributions.

Accordingly, this Affair was brought into the House of Commons, and there gave rise to the laying a new Duty upon * *Spirituous Liquors*.

* It ought not to be forgot, that, while this Affair was depending, in order to know what Increase had arisen in the Excise, by the lessening the Consumption of Spirituous Liquors, and that the said Increase might be appropriated to the *Agregate Fund*, a Motion was made for an Account of the Net Produce of the hereditary and temporary Excise; and that it pass'd in the Negative by 182 Voices against 122.

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But this was not all; the Minister pretended, That if the Evil of Drunkenness should be diminished by enhancing the Price of these Liquors, the *Surplusses* arising to the *Civil List* would also diminish in proportion, and, therefore, demanded an annual 70,000 *l.* out of the *Agregate Fund*, by way of Equivalent, in behalf of the Crown.

This gave rise to several very strenuous Debates; in the Course of which, among a Variety of other Particulars, the following deserve a Place.

“ ’Tis true, that by the present Establishment of the Civil List, there are a great many Duties appropriated towards the raising of that Revenue, with the Proviso, That if they do not produce 800,000 *l.* yearly, if there happens a Deficiency, we are to make it good; but if there happens an Increase or Surplus, the Whole shall belong to his Majesty. This, I grant, is the present Establishment of that Revenue; but this Day’s Debate shews us the *Inconvenience* of making such Establishments; and I am very sure, that neither his Majesty, nor the Parliament, ever thought, or ever intended, that any of those *Surplusses* should be *increased* by any Thing that might tend to the *Destruction* of the People in general; nor was it ever intended, that the Parliament should

should not have it in its Power to prevent, or to put a Stop to a pernicious Consumption, without making good to the *Civil List* the *Surplus* that had arisen from that very pernicious Consumption. It may as well be pretended, That if the *Plague* should spread itself over *Spain* and *Portugal*, we could not prohibit Commerce with them, or prevent the Importation of their Wines, without making good to the Civil List its Share in the Duties upon those Wines, at a Medium to be computed for eight Years past: Whereas in such a Case, I believe, it will be granted, that the *biggest* Obligation we could lie under, would be to make the Civil List good 800,000 *l.* a Year, in case the Produce of the other Duties appropriated for that Purpose should fall short of that Sum.

“ But the Case now under Consideration stands in a much stronger Light; for if all the Duties appropriate to the Civil List, now produce a Million Sterling yearly, the Regulation we are to make, tho’ it may entirely take away one Branch of that Revenue, or very much diminish it, yet it will increase some of the others so much, that all together they will still produce at least a *Million* yearly; and the utmost that can be pretended is, That the Parliament shall not, by any new Regulation, diminish the general

ral Produce, or general Surplus of the Civil List Revenue, as it stands at present, or may stand at any future Period of Time.

“ To illustrate this Matter still a little more clearly : Suppose that Parliament which established the Civil List, had laid a Duty upon *Laudanum*, and had appropriated that Duty to the Civil List : Suppose that, in a few Years after, the Use of *Laudanum* should have become more general and more excessive in this Nation, than ever it was in *Turky*, infomuch, that Multitudes of our People should have been every Day found in the Streets murdered by the excessive Use of that *Poyson*, and that by this general and excessive Consumption the Duties upon it should have occasioned a vast Increase in his Majesty's Civil List Revenue : will any Gentleman pretend, that the Parliament could *not* make any Regulation for preventing the Abuse of that *Poyson*, without making good to his Majesty the Increase in the Civil List Revenue, that had been occasioned by that Abuse ? Is not this the very Case with respect to Spirituous Liquors ?

“ To conclude, from the whole that has been said upon this Subject, it appears evident to me, That if the Surplus of the Civil List should be diminished by what we are

are now about, we are not *obliged* to make it good. That if we were obliged to make the Loss good, it ought *not* to be computed at 70,000 *l. per Ann.* That if it should be computed at 75,000 *l. per Annum*, it is apparent, that it will be made good by the *Increase of the Excise.*"

We have neither Time, nor Room to follow this Affair, thro' all the various Debates it occasioned: It is sufficient to say, That the *Court* was victorious in *all*: Indeed, every Vote and Resolution, as well as every Session, and every Parliament, shew'd the Vanity of all Opposition, and that the *Minister* was the *Master*.

Thus, upon the Second Reading of the *Place-Bill*, when a Motion was made for its being committed, it pass'd in the Negative by 224 against 177.

Thus, likewise, when a Question was proposed to enable his Majesty to borrow 600,000 *l.* at 3 *per Cent.* on the Surplusses of that *sacred, unalienable Deposit* the *Sinking Fund*, it was carry'd in the Affirmative, even without the *Ceremonial* of a Division.

And thus when the *Dealers* in *Tea* petitioned to be reliev'd from the *Inland Duty* or *Excise* of 4 *s. per Pound* on all *Tea's*, which enabled the *Smugglers* to purchase

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Tea's

Tea's abroad at one Third of the Price, which they cost the fair Trader at home, and signify'd, That to alter the said Duty to a certain Rate *ad Valorem*, would be the most effectual Way to put a Stop to the clandestine Importation of Tea, Advantage was taken to bring in a Bill, which, instead of *relieving* the said Petitioners, or any ways *diminishing*, or qualifying the said *Excise*, expos'd the Subject to Dangers and Penalties of so extraordinary and unprecedented a Nature, that when the Bill had pass'd the Lower House, even the Law Lords in the Upper, took the Alarm, and made a glorious Stand in behalf of the Constitution; as may be seen from the Passages that follow, which are here inserted to do Honour to those, who, upon this Occasion at least, acted in a manner so worthy of *Englishmen*.

“ By all those who understand any Thing of our Constitution, it must be granted, That one of the great Barriers for the Liberties of the People, is, that fundamental Maxim of the Laws of the Kingdom, by which every Man is presumed *innocent*, till the contrary appears by some *Overt-Act* of his own; and that Act must be such a one as is in itself *unlawful*, and of such a Nature, that no innocent Construction can be put upon it. We have in our *Laws* no such Thing

Thing as a Crime by *Implication*; nor do we pretend to judge of, or to punish a Man for meer *Thinking*.

“ Another Security for our Liberties, is, That no Subject can be imprisoned, unless some felonious and high Crime be sworn against him. If the Crime be not in itself atrocious, or if there be only a Suspicion sworn against him, the greatest Hardship he can be subjected to is, to be imprisoned till he gives Bail for his Appearance; and if any of our inferior Judges refuse to admit him to Bail, or refuse to accept of proper and sufficient Bail, the Subject so aggrieved, may immediately apply by *Habeas Corpus* to the King’s Courts in *Westminster-hall*. This, with respect to private Men, is the very *Foundation-Stone* of all our Liberties; and if we remove it, if we but knock off a *Corner*, we may very probably overturn the whole Fabrick.

“ A third Guard for our Liberties, and the only other I shall at present take Notice of is, that Liberty which every Subject has, not only to provide himself with *Arms* proper for his Defence, but to *accustom* himself to the *Use* of those *Arms*, and to travel with them whenever he has a Mind. This is not only a *Defence* for our *Liberties*, but it is the chief and the only Defence upon

M m 4 which

which we ought to depend, for the *Preservation* of our Country against foreign Invasions.

“ Having premised these Observations upon our Constitution, and upon the Nature of a free Government, give me Leave, my Lords, to apply them to that Clause in this Bill, which subjects every Man in the Kingdom to the Danger, nay, I may say, *Certainty*, of being committed to Prison by a single *Justice of Peace*, without *Bail* or *Mainprize*; of being convicted and *transported* as a *Smuggler*; and, if he returns before the Time limited, hanged as a *Felony* without *Benefit of the Clergy*; and all this without his having been guilty of any one *Over-Aet*, except that of travelling properly armed for his Defence, and having the Misfortune to meet with two of his Friends upon the Road, armed in the same manner; in case any two *Rogues of Informers*, or perhaps real *Smugglers*, who are to get 150, perhaps 250 *£*, by their Perjury, shall swear that this honest Man, and his two Friends, were assembled and armed, in order to be aiding and assisting in the clandestine running, landing, rescuing, or carrying away prohibited, or *uncustomed Goods*. This Regulation, when stripped of that Multiplicity of Words which render obscure the

the Meaning and Intent of every Clause of an Act of Parliament, really seems to me to be the most terrible and the most entrapping Regulation that was ever proposed in any Country ; and if it passes into a Law, I am sure it will not be quite safe for any three Gentlemen in the Kingdom to be seen in Company together, if they have but walking Swords by their Sides."

And such an Impression did these affecting Considerations at first make upon the House, that they gave Way to certain proper Amendments without a Division: But when those very Amendments came to be reported, the next Day, all were rejected, by 64 against 58. The House then added a Clause of their own ; with which Alteration it was again sent down to the *Commons*; where the *Speaker* endeavour'd to raise a Spirit against it, by shewing, from the *Journals* of the House, That in some sort it encroached upon their *Privileges*, for the Lords to make any Amendment to any Bill, relating to the raising of *Taxes*; which were to be look'd upon as Appendixes to Money Bills.—But all was in vain. The Bill serv'd to arm the Government with new Powers, and therefore was pass'd into a Law.

I shall take my Leave of this Session, with observing, That the *Majority* refused

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to oblige the *Dissenters* with the Repeal of the *Test Act*; which added Ingratitude to all their other *Sins*; for, generally speaking, scarce any Set of Men had gone greater Lengths to oblige and serve their *Leader*.

May 20, His Majesty made the parting Compliments to both Houses, in a most gracious Speech; from whence I shall take Leave to quote Two or Three of the most significant Paragraphs, as follow:

“ I acquainted you at your first Meeting, that *Preliminary Articles* had been concluded between the *Emperor* and the Most *Christian King*; since which Time a further *Convention*, concerning the Execution of them, hath been made, and communicated to me, by both those Courts; and Negotiations are carrying on by the several Powers engaged in the late War, in order to settle the general Pacification.

“ It is a great Concern to me, to see such *Seeds of Dissention* sown among my good People, as, if not timely prevented, may prove very prejudicial to the Peace and Quiet of my Kingdoms. It is my Desire, and shall be my Care, to preserve the present *Constitution* in Church and State, as by Law established, perfect and entire, and not to countenance any *Attempts* to the Prejudice of either.

“ It

“ It being *necessary* for me to visit my Dominions in *Germany* again this Year, I have resolved to appoint the Queen Regent here during my Absence.”

His Majesty's changing his Place of Residence, having made no remarkable Change in the Affairs of *Europe*, we need give no other Detail of foreign Affairs during the *Recess*, than is to be found in the Speech of the Lords Commissioners, ¹⁷³⁶⁻⁷, appointed to open the next Session, *Feb. 1.* which had no better Preface, than *that it was not convenient for his Majesty to be there in Person*; and which, after a sort of introductory Reference to that of the King's, just quoted, proceeded as follows:

“ We are now commanded by his Majesty to inform you, That the respective Acts of *Cession* being exchanged, and Orders given for the *Evacuation* and *Possession* of the several Countries and Places by the Powers concerned, according to the Allotment and Disposition of the Preliminary Articles, the great Work of re-establishing the general Tranquillity is far advanced; however, it is his Majesty's Opinion, That common Prudence calls upon us to be very attentive to, and observe the *final Conclusion* of this new *Settlement* of such considerable *Parts of Europe*: It is to be hoped, that a
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general and *lasting* Tranquillity will follow this Restitution of Peace; and that the Renewal of Friendship and Alliances, for the Preservation of it, among the several Princes and Powers of *Europe*, will remove all Dangers and Apprehensions of any *new Troubles* and *Disorders*; but his Majesty apprehends, That an *indolent Security*, and too great a *Disregard* to future Events, may occasion *Mischiefs*, more easy to be prevented, than to be remedy'd; and that it would be very *unadviseable* to leave ourselves in so *defenceless* a Condition, as to encourage any Enterprizes, which the Enemies to the public Peace may have *vainly* suggested, and flatter'd themselves with the Hopes of."

The Sequel contains a pathetic Complaint of Contrivances and Attempts, carry'd on in various Shapes, and in different Parts of the Nation, * *tumultuously* to resist and obstruct the Execution of the Laws. To which the Commons, in their loyal Address, were pleas'd to return the following Cavalier Engagements.

" *Most gracious Sovereign,*

Your faithful Commons cannot, without a *just Indignation*, observe the Spirit of Fac-

* *Viz.* About Turnpikes in the West; the Blowing up certain Acts of Parliament in *Westminster-Hall*; Frays with Smugglers; and the Affair of Capt. *Porteous* at *Edinburgh*.

tion and Sedition, which has lately manifested itself, in *traducing* and *misrepresenting* the *Legislature*, in contemning all *Authority*, and in open Defiance to the *Laws* of the Land.

“It is with the highest Sense of Duty and Gratitude, we acknowledge your Majesty’s *Goodness*, not only in your ready *Concurrence* to all such wholesome *Laws*, as have been, from Time to Time, prepared by your Parliament, but in your constant Care to *enforce* them by a due *Execution*, with the strictest Regard to the Rights and Properties of your People, and without the least *Colour* and *Shadow* of any Design or Attempt to stretch or violate the known *Laws* of this Realm.

“We cannot sufficiently express our *Abhorrence* of the many *wicked* and *detestable* Practices, which the *Disturbers* of the Public Repose have *secretly* fomented, and *openly* carry’d on, in tumultuously resisting and obstructing the Execution of the *Laws*, and violating the Peace of the Kingdom.

“And we, your faithful Commons, do assure your Majesty, That, being fully persuaded that the Preservation of the public Tranquillity, and our own Safety, are inseparable from the Security of your Government, we will support your *Royal Authority* in

in suppressing and subduing all seditious and riotous Attempts, that threaten the very Being of our happy Constitution, and the utter Subversion of those Liberties, which have been made the specious Pretence for committing these outrageous Disorders."

Which, after the usual Compliment of Thanks, produc'd the following Answer,

"His Majesty relies upon the Wisdom of his Parliament, to frame such Laws as shall be necessary to strengthen and support the Authority of his Government, in preserving the public Tranquillity, and securing the Rights and Properties of his People; and his faithful Commons may depend upon him for a just and due Execution of them."

In the Course of this Deduction, we have often seen the *Sinking Fund* consider'd as a sacred and inviolable Establishment, and the *Standing Army* as often but as a temporary Expedient; but we have found the Reverse to be the Fact, viz. the Last to be a sacred and inviolable Establishment, and the First to be only a temporary Expedient.

And thus, tho' all was Peace abroad, the petty Disorders of a rash and inconsiderable Rabble at home, furnish'd out a Pretence to countenance our WHIG-Ministers, for demanding,

manding, that the * same Number of Troops might be continued this Year which was granted the last.

This Demand was, however, oppos'd ; it was again urg'd, That it was impossible to imagine or expect a Time, when all the Princes of *Europe* will be not only in profound Peace, but without any Views or Designs of making Encroachments upon one another. If we are not to diminish our present Army till such a Time happens, if we are not to pass the River till it runs dry, it is ridiculous ever to think of passing, or to expect a Diminution."

And to account for the Spirit of Discontent, which then prevail'd in the Nation, the following Reasons were added,

" During the late great War, the People of this Nation were subjected to many new and heavy Taxes, and a great public Debt was incurred. Every Man was then sensible of the Debt contracted, every Man then felt severely the Taxes he paid, but every Man comforted himself, that in a few Years of Peace, the Debt would be paid off, and most of the Taxes abolished. We have now enjoyed a Peace of 25 Years standing,

* 17,704 Men.

and

and yet we now find the public Debt near as *large* as it was at the End of the War, and all the Taxes but one, as *high*, and as *heavy* as they were in any Time of the War.

“ Thus the People have been long *disappointed*, and now at last they begin to *despair* of ever seeing themselves relieved from the heavy Burdens they groan under. There may be several other Reasons; there are some which I could mention; but this is the chief Reason of the Discontent’s being so *general*, as I am afraid it is; and I am sure the keeping up of a numerous *Standing Army* in Time of *Peace*, is not a proper Method for *removing* this Cause of Discontent. By so doing, we may keep the People quiet, or *knock* out the *Brains* of those who shall presume to be otherwise, but we shall never *remove* their *Discontents*, or *gain* their *Affections*; and this must be done, or our Government must be made *Arbitrary*; for a *free* Government cannot be *supported*, but by having the *Affections* of the Generality of the People.”

In all other Histories, different Actions have different Catastrophes, which serve to diversify the Narrative, and keep the Reader’s Attention alive: But in this, we have but one general Issue for all, which is ever foreseen, as soon as the Subject is propounded. Thus

Thus in the Case before us we are certain an Affirmative is at hand, and all that remains for us to be resolved in, is the Number of the Majority ; which was 246 to 178.

By way of *Appendix* to the Army, came on the Provision for *Chelsea College*, which, in two Years time, was found to be encreas'd almost 10,000 *l*. But such *ministerial* Reasons being assigned for it, as satisfied the House, all Exceptions were over-rul'd, and it was admitted without a Division.

While our Representatives continued to be thus profuse of the public Money, we were furnish'd with a remarkable Proof of the Frugality of the Court.

It was now almost Ten Years since his Majesty's *Civil List* had been establish'd by Parliament; at which Time it was universally understood, That 100,000*l. per Ann.* was to be allotted out of it, for the Support of the Prince of Wales.

But the *One Man*, who was then at the Head of all Things, had such a peculiar Way of interpreting this Act of the Legislature, that he presum'd the Provision for the *Heir Apparent*, depended on his Majesty's Pleasure only.

Accordingly, the Coronation-Ceremony
was not only ungrac'd with his Royal High-
ness's

ness's Presence, but he was suffer'd to remain for a long Time afterwards at *Hanover*; during which Interval we never heard of his being complimented with one Shilling out of the *Civil List*: And when he was at last hurry'd over, his Court, if it may be call'd one, was settled in the most thrifty manner possible; and so continued, till his Royal Highness's Marriage, which had been celebrated *April 27. (1736)* in the preceding Session.

As, therefore, the *Minority* seem to have first found out the Expediency of the *Heir Apparent's* residing in the Kingdom he was one Day to govern, so they had now the Merit of making a new Discovery in his Royal Highness's Favour; that is to say, That it was high Time he should have the Benefit of the Princely Revenue intended him by the People.

Accordingly, *Feb. 22*, a Motion was made, in Effect, for setting free the *Heir Apparent* from *Ministerial Dependency*, by assigning him, out of the *Civil-List* Revenues, the annual Sum, which the liberal Commons of *England* originally intended him.

Upon this Occasion, many References were made to our *Annals*, and much Parliamentary Learning was display'd: The *Undertakers* for the *Prince* were resolv'd to

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make their Attack as vigorous as possible, and both *Minister* and * * * * were resolv'd not to be overcome.

The First set forth the original Intentions of the People, in favour of his R. H. the Reason he had to expect and demand the Performance of them, and the Right of the House to interpose in his Behalf; in particular, they quoted the Case of King *William*, where the *Grant* of the Civil-List Revenue is thus worded: * "That it is intended that the yearly Sum of 700,000 *l.* shall be supply'd to his Majesty for the Service of his *Household* and *Family*, and for other his necessary *Expences* and *Occasions*." — In which, notwithstanding the *Grant* was so general, and the particular *Expences* cannot be traced from any *Accounts*, call'd for at that Time, on the *Journals* of *Parliament*, nor any public Appeal to *past Experience*; yet there was a *Confidence* placed in the *Crown* for the Payment of certain annual *Sums* to several Branches of the *Royal Family*, tho' not one of Them is named in the *Act*, not even the *Princess* of *Denmark's* 50,000 *l.* a Year, which She had always out of it. Nevertheless, the *House of Commons* in 1708, took into Considera-

* 9th and 10th of *W. III.* Cap. 23. Sect. 13.

tion their own Intention in granting the *Act*; and resolv'd to "apply 100,000 *l.* a Year, Part of the Sum of 700,000 *l.* granted for the Service of *his Majesty's Household and other Expences and Occasions* towards the *Payment of the public Debts*; the OCCASIONS, for which the said 100,000 *l.* was given, being now ceased."—Which was agreed to, and the Sum beforementioned accordingly taken away. This, it was urg'd, was a *Precedent* full in every Point. They had no Occasion to address the Throne for an Application of it to what They intended; but upon the public Notoriety of the *Uses ceasing*, for which They design'd it, without any other Reservation of it to the People, They took it back again.

That it was reckon'd at 100,000 *l.* a Year, seems to have been computed upon *these Heads*; the 50,000 *l.* a Year, that was to have been paid to King *James the second's Queen*; the 30,000 *l.* a Year Dower to *Q. Catherine*; and 20,000 *l.* a Year to the *Duke of Gloucester*.

None of *these Articles* were in the *Act*, any more than the *Prince of Wales's* in his present *Majesty's Civil-List Act*; yet, upon their ceasing, or being no longer paid, the *Form of Confidence*, which They had placed in the *Crown* for *these Uses*, no longer subsisted,

sisted, and therefore They had a Right to apply it to *others*, as They did.

As the same Confidence was placed in his *late Majesty*, when We completed the *Civil-List* to 700,000 *l.* a Year, for *supporting the Dignity of the Crown, and making an honourable Provision for the Royal Family*; every Intention of *Parliament* was immediately comply'd with; and in *ten Days* after, his Majesty notify'd his having order'd *Letters Patent* for 100,000 *l.* a Year accordingly, to his then Royal Highness, the *Prince of Wales*.

The *present great Civil-List* was granted upon the same Trust and Confidence. Why therefore ought it not to be equally comply'd with, even when the very wording of the *Grant* is so far from weakening it, on the Foot of *former Precedents*, that it rather enforces them? For it runs thus: "Being desirous that a *competent Revenue*, for defraying the *Expence of your Majesty's Civil Government*, and *BETTER supporting the Dignity of the Crown of Great Britain*, during your Life, (which God long preserve!) may be settled upon your Majesty, and that your Majesty be enabled to make an *honourable Provision for your Royal Family, &c.*"

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In answer to which, and many other such like Things, the *Minister*, after contending in a very lordly Manner for the absolute Power of the King over his own Revenue, proceeded to inform the House, by the King's Command, of a written Message, sent the Day before, by ten Privy-Counsellors, from his Majesty to the Prince of *Wales*; in which his Royal Highness was given to understand, That his Majesty had *now* given Orders for settling a proper Jointure on the Princess; and that, tho' his Royal Highness had not made Application to have the Allowance of 50,000*l.* *per Annum*, then paid him *Monthly*, by his Majesty's *farther Grace and Favour* render'd *less precarious*, his Majesty, to prevent the bad Consequences which he apprehended might follow from the undutiful Measures which his Majesty was inform'd his Royal Highness had been advis'd to pursue, would settle the said 50,000*l.* *per Ann.* on his Royal Highness for Life; *over and above* his *Cornish* Revenues; which his Majesty thought a competent Allowance, &c.

The *Great Man* was pleas'd to add, That his Royal Highness return'd a verbal Answer, desiring the Lords would lay him at his Majesty's Feet, expressing the utmost Duty for his Royal Person; but that as to
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the Message, the *Affair was in other Hands*.
He was sorry for it, or to that Effect.

He then enlarg'd upon the Words *pass'd Experience*, which had been made use of to shew the Necessity of complimenting the Crown with so large a *Civil List*, and took much Pains to prove, That tho' 100,000 *£* per Ann. was necessary for the Prince of Wales, in the late Reign, 50,000 *£* was enough for his present Royal Highness, and that the Crown could afford no more; concluding thus,

“ Gentlemen may call it, if they please, offering Advice to our Sovereign; but it is really bringing his Majesty and his eldest Son, as Plaintiff and Defendant before us: Our agreeing to the Question, would be a determining, That his Majesty had done Injustice to his eldest Son: It would be giving a Victory to the Son over the Father, which might prove, the *Lord have Mercy upon us!* the Destruction of us both. No Man can patiently bear an Enquiry into his Family-Affairs; no Father can easily forgive a Son for appealing to a higher Power: For God's Sake, let us stop in Time this breaching Gap, which may make Way for an Inundation to drown us all! Our agreeing to such a Question, might occasion a perpetual Breach,

Breach, an *Immedicable Vulnus*, though not, I hope, *Ense recindendum*."

The most material Parts of the Reply, were as follow:

"By the Regulation and Settlement of the Prince's Household, as made some time since by his Majesty himself, the yearly Expence comes to 63,000 *l.* without allowing one Shilling to his Royal Highness for Acts of Charity and Generosity. By the Message now before us, it is proposed to settle upon him only 50,000 *l.* a Year, and yet from this Sum we must deduct the * *Land-Tax*, which at Two Shillings in the Pound, amounts to 5000 *l.* a Year, we must likewise deduct the

* This Article of the *Taxes* was so self-evident, that it was thought proper to *run* a Clause of Exception in the *Land-Tax Bill*, not only without the Knowledge of the *House*, but even of the *Speaker*, who always takes the utmost Care to prevent such Impositions; and it was discover'd in the *other House* by the blundering Manner of engrossing it. This afterwards occasion'd a very long and warm Debate in the *House of Commons*; and all that was urg'd in Justification of it was, *That it might prevent another disagreeable Debate upon this Head*; as if something of this Nature would certainly be mention'd, when the *Bill for the Jointure* should be brought in. By these Means, the *People* are farther loaded in their *Land Tax*, and otherwise, to supply the private Bounties of a very few, and without having the Merit of giving an Increase to the Allowance of his *Royal Highness*. Thus may the *People*, who bear the Burthen, be robb'd of the Thanks and Acknowledgment of the *Prince*; whilst it was done only to exonerate the *Civil-List*, at the Expence of the *Nation*, as too many Things have been done already. LETTER FROM A MEMBER.

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Sixpenny Duty to the Civil List Lottery, which amounts to 1250 *l.* a Year, and also we must deduct the Fees payable at the *Exchequer*, which will amount to about 750 *l.* a Year more; all which Deductions amount to 7000 *l.* a Year, and reduces the 50,000 *l.* a Year, proposed to be settled upon him by the Message, to 43,000 *l.* a Year: Now, as his Royal Highness has no other Estate but the Duchy of *Cornwal*, which cannot be reckoned at the most above 9000 *l.* a Year, his whole yearly Revenue can amount to but 52,000 *l.* a Year; and yet the yearly Expence of his Household, according to his Majesty's own Regulation, is to amount to 63,000 *l.* a Year, without allowing his Royal Highness one Shilling for the Indulgence of that generous and charitable Disposition with which he is known to be endued, to a very eminent Degree. Suppose then we allow him but 10,000 *l.* a Year for the Indulgence of that laudable Disposition, his whole yearly Expence, by his Majesty's own Acknowledgment, must then amount to 73,000 *l.* a Year, and his yearly Income, according to this Message, can amount to no more than 52,000 *l.* a Year. Is this shewing any Respect to his Merit? Is this providing for his Generosity? Is it not reducing him to a real Want, even with respect

respect to his Necessities, and consequently to an unavoidable Dependence, and a vile, a pecuniary Dependence too, upon his Father's Ministers and Servants? I confess, when I first heard this Motion made, I was wavering a good deal in my Opinion; but this Message has confirmed me; I now see that, without the Interposition of Parliament, his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*, the Heir Apparent to our Crown, must be reduced to the greatest Straits, the most insufferable Hardships."

"I come now to the last Question, and which I take to be indeed, the only Question in this Debate, which is, Whether it be possible for his Majesty to spare more than 50,000 *l.* a Year for his Royal Highness from the Civil List, as it now stands established? Let us remember now, 'twas acknowledged in Parliament, before the late *Gin Act* was passed, that the Produce of the whole Taxes, Excises, and Duties, appropriated to the Civil List, amounted to 818,000 *l.* a Year: I believe it will be admitted, That tho' 70,000 *l.* a Year granted by that Act to the Civil List, and made payable out of the Aggregate, or rather out of the Sinking Fund, does more than compensate the Loss of the Civil List sustained, by taking from it the Duties on Spirituous Liquors,

Liquors, in which Case the Increase of the Excise upon Beer and Ale, occasioned by the preventing the Retail of Spirituous Liquors, must wholly be a net Profit to the Civil List; The Increase of the Excise upon Beer and Ale, if I am rightly informed, amounted for the very first Quarter, I mean from *Michaelmas* to *Christmas* last, to near 30,000 *l.* one Half of which goes to the Civil List; so that we may reckon the Civil List has got by the *Gin Act*, an Addition of at least 60,000 *l.* a Year; besides what is got by the Increase of the Wine-licence Duty, which every one knows has been greatly increased by prohibiting the Retail of Spirituous Liquors. Then, let us recollect, that a little before his present Majesty's Accession, the Civil List was discharg'd of 36,200 *l.* a Year in Pensions, which during the greatest Part of his Majesty's late Reign, were paid out of the Civil List; but ever since his Majesty's Accession, have been a Burthen upon, and paid out of the public Service. Let us add together these three Sums 818,000 *l.* 60,000 *l.* and 36,200 *l.* and they amount to 914,200 *l.* which, according to the highest Probability, we must allow to be the yearly Amount of the Civil-List Revenue, as now established, and which

which is 114,000 *l.* a Year, more than was enjoyed by his late Majesty, even including all the particular Grants that were occasionally made to the Civil List in his Reign.

“ But, this is not all; his present Majesty has had one very extraordinary Grant of 115,000 *l.* made to the Civil List; and the 80,000 *l.* granted as a Fortune to the Princess Royal, may properly be said to have been an extraordinary Grant to the Civil List. Then, I must not forget another yearly Addition, which may be looked on as a very great Sum, considering from whence it comes, I mean a Sum of 40,000 *l.* a Year from *Scotland*, which is now a yearly Addition to the Civil List. I will not, indeed, take upon me to say, that the whole, or any Part of that Sum, is brought in Specie to *London*; but if it is laid out for the paying Pensions in *Scotland*, which must otherwise be paid yearly out of the Civil List Revenue, I may take upon me to say, it prevents an equal Sum from being sent yearly in Specie from *London*. From all which Considerations, I think it is evident, his present Majesty has above 100,000 *l.* a Year more than his late Majesty ever enjoy'd, and therefore we must conclude, he may easily spare 100,000 *l.* a Year for the Use of his Royal Highness, without any great Frugality or good

good Management, and without contracting any Part of that Expence which was found necessary in the late Reign."

Upon the Issue, the *Minister* was too mighty even for the *Heir Apparent*, by 234 against 204.

A like Motion was made in the House of Lords, where it was likewise defeated; but then it produc'd a Protest, which, among other noble Names, hath that of C—— subscribed to it; and which concludes with a Spirit worthy the Peerage of OLD ENGLAND, viz.

"Lastly, We thought it more incumbent upon us to insist upon this Motion, for the Sake of this Royal Family, under which alone we are fully convinced we can live FREE, and under this Royal Family we are fully determined we WILL live FREE."

Some time after this, a Motion was made by Mr. *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, That the Sum of One Million (out of the Produce of the *Sinking Fund*) should be granted towards redeeming the like Sum of the Encreased Capital of the *South Sea Company*, then commonly call'd, *Old South Sea Annuities*.

But this was objected to by the Gentlemen in the Minority, who took upon them to prove, That, if the public Good was regarded,

garded, and that impartial Justice which is due to all the public Creditors, the next Payment ought not to be applied to the *South-Sea* Stock, or Annuities.

“ With respect to the public Good, said they, or the Interest of the Nation in general, it has been granted, That if any of our Debts bore a higher Rate of Interest than the rest, that Debt would certainly be the most grievous to the Nation, and consequently ought to be the first paid off; and at the same time it has been granted, That there is a Debt of 1,600,000 *l.* due to the *Bank*, which bears an Interest of 6 *per Cent.* Is it not then evident, That this Debt of 1,600,000 *l.* ought to be the first to be paid off? But we are told, this Debt cannot be redeemed till the Expiration of their Term. I know it cannot; and I likewise know, we cannot come at the Redemption of this Mortgage, till after we have paid off the whole of the other Debts due to the *Bank*. Is not this a strong Reason for our paying off, as fast as possible, all the other Debts due to the *Bank*, in order to come at the Redemption of this Mortgage of 1,600,000 *l.* which is now the heaviest Mortgage this Nation groans under? And what still adds to the Weight of this Argument is, that by the Time we have paid off the other Debts due

due to the *Bank*, and for which they have only an Interest of 4 *per Cent.* their Term will be expired, so that we can then redeem this heavy Mortgage without further Delay; whereas, if we do not now begin to pay off the other Debts due to the *Bank*, we cannot, even when their Time is expired, have it in our Power to redeem this Mortgage; because, by Agreement, we cannot redeem it till we have paid off all the other Sums due by the Public to that Company. Therefore, if we have any Regard to the public Good, we ought to apply every future Payment to the *Bank*, till they are entirely paid off, or at least, till they agree to take 4 *per Cent.* for this 1,600,000 *l.* as well as for the rest of their Fund, which would be a Saving of 32,000 *l. per Annum* to the Public, and a Saving that would greatly contribute towards enabling us to reduce all our public Debts to 3 *per Cent.* Interest."

There is something so mysterious in the Funds, that but very few care to be at the Trouble of understanding them. The *Ministerial Blind*; therefore, is, in all such Cases, spread with more than ordinary Success; and we are scarce to wonder, that the Point before us was carry'd without a Division.

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The next great Object which excited the Attention of the House, was a Motion of Sir *John Barnard's*, for the Reduction of Interest, from 4 to 3 *per Cent.* which he founded upon the following obvious Facts and Reasonings,

“ Every one knows, That the Price of all our public Funds is now at a higher Rate than ever it was before, upon any reasonable Foundation : Every one knows, That even those public Securities, which bear an Interest of 3 *per Cent.* only, now sell at a Premium in *Exchange-Alley*; and I must be of Opinion, it would be an unpardonable Neglect in us, not to endeavour to take the Advantage of that unhappy Circumstance for the Benefit of the Public. I am persuaded there are few or none, who are willing to give a Premium for any 3 *per Cent.* Security, but would willingly lend his Money to the Government at the same Interest, if Books of Subscription were open'd for that Purpose, with an Assurance, That no Part of his Principal should be paid off for 14 Years; and therefore, I think, we ought to have such Books always lying open at the *Exchequer*, or some other convenient Place for taking in the Subscriptions of those who are willing to lend at 3 *per Cent.* in
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order to pay off the sooner such of the public Creditors as are not willing to accept of a lower Interest than *Four*. If this were done, it would convince all our public Creditors, who are now entitled to an Interest of *4 per Cent.* that the Government is in earnest, and firmly resolved to pay them off as soon as possible; and as the only Contest among the public Creditors now is, which of them shall be the last in being paid off, 'tis more than probable, the far greatest Part of them would come in and subscribe what is due to them respectively, at an Interest of *3 per Cent.* rather than run the Risk of being quickly paid off the Whole, or the greatest Part of their Capital, by means of the *Sinking Fund*, and the Money-Subscriptions at *3 per Cent.*

“The natural Interest of Money must always depend upon the Proportion between the Quantity of Money ready to be lent at Interest, and the Quantity wanted to be borrow'd; so that public Loans of all Kinds, must tend towards enhancing the natural Interest of Money, and public Payments must as necessarily tend towards its Reduction. Therefore, from the present low Rate of Interest upon the public Securities, notwithstanding our being now very near as much in Debt as we were at the End of

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the War, I am sure I may venture to say, the natural Interest upon all Sorts of Securities would have been at, or below, 3 *per Cent.* if we had paid off the greatest Part of our old, without contracting any new Debt: And if we had done so, I am convinced, the Trade of this Kingdom would have been in a much more flourishing State than it is at present, and the Nation much better able to support its Friends, or avenge itself of its Enemies.

“ These, 'tis true, are but melancholy Reflections; however, they may serve for making us more circumspect in Time to come, and for making every Man contribute, with the greater Alacrity, towards whatever Sums may hereafter be thought necessary for the current Supplies, in order that the *Sinking Fund* may, for the future, be apply'd wholly to discharge the national Debt, and to relieve the People from those heavy Taxes they now groan under; for either of which Purposes, it will be made much more effectual, by a Reduction of the Interest payable to the *South-Sea* Old and New Annuitants, from 4 to 3 *per Cent.* if such a Thing can be brought about without any Danger to public Credit, or Breach of public Faith; and that this may, in all Probability, be done, is what I shall now
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endeavour to demonstrate: That there are in this Kingdom large Sums, ready to be lent at an Interest of 3 *per Cent.* is evident from the ready Access the Government has for some time had, to the borrowing Money at that Interest for the yearly Supplies, and upon every new Fund that has been lately established: But this is still more evident from the high Premium now daily given for those public Securities, that bear an Interest only of 3 *per Cent.* Therefore, I think, it is reasonable to believe, That if Books of Subscriptions should be opened, the Money-Subscriptions would amount, at least, to *Two Millions*, and the whole *Million* to be paid to the *South-Sea* Old Annuitants at *Michaelmas* next, would, I believe, be subscribed into this new Fund; so that soon after *Michaelmas* next, the Public would have a Fund of *Three Millions* in ready Money, to pay off a Part of those Annuities, whose Proprietors should not appear willing to accept of an Interest for 14 Years certain, at the Rate of 3 *per Cent.* But I am in some Doubt, whether or no there would be Occasion for accepting of any Money-Subscription at all: Because every Man may, from the general Circumstances of our Affairs, find Reason to believe, and I have a particular Reason to believe, That a great Number of our Annu-

tants are uneasy in their present Situation, and would be glad to accept of 3 *per Cent.* if they were assured of not being obliged to receive any Payment for 14 Years to come; and if one Third of them, or any Number above one Third, should readily come in, it would make it the immediate Interest of all the rest to come in and subscribe; because they would lose above 1 *per Cent.* yearly by the future Payments to be made from the *Sinking Fund*; besides the Trouble they will be annually put to, in receiving and replacing the partial Payments which would be made them from that Fund only; and besides, the Danger they would be in, of having the whole soon paid them by a large Money-Subscription.

“ From what I have said, and the easy and obvious Calculations I have made, it is evident, That we may, in all Probability, before *Michaelmas* next, or very soon after, reduce the Interest upon all the *South-Sea* Annuities, both New and Old, from 4 to 3 *per Cent.* Interest, without any Danger to public Credit, or Breach of public Faith, which would make the *Sinking Fund* amount from thenceforth to above 1,400,000*l.* *per Ann.* to be applied only towards redeeming the Capital of our several trading Companies. This would bring every one of
them

them so much within our Power, that I am convinced we could then get every one of them to accept of 3 *per Cent*. Interest upon any reasonable Terms we had a mind to propose, which would be a new Addition to the *Sinking Fund*, of above 170,000 *l.* a Year: From which Time the *Sinking Fund* would amount to about 1,600,000 *l. per Ann.* and then we might venture to annihilate above *one Half* of it, by freeing the People from the Taxes upon *Coals, Candles, Soap, Leather*, and such other Taxes as now lie heavy upon our poor Labourers and Manufacturers, and thereby enhance their Wages in every Part of the Kingdom, but especially in the City of *London*; by which the prime Cost of all our Manufactures is so much enhanced, that it is impossible for our Merchants to sell them in foreign Markets so cheap, as Manufactures of the same Kind and Goodness are sold by the Merchants, even of those Countries, where the Interest of Money is as high as it is in this.

“ The remaining Part of the *Sinking Fund* might then be applied towards paying off those Annuities and public Debts which now bear an Interest of 3 *per Cent* only, and after that, towards diminishing the Capitals of our several trading Companies, till the Expiration of the Term of 14 Years to be

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granted.

granted to the Annuitants; at which Time the *Sinking Fund* would again amount to above a Million yearly, which would be sufficient for paying them off, and freeing the Nation entirely from ALL its public Debts in a short Time."

As this Proposal was laying the Axe to the Root of Ministerial Power and Influence, there was little Reason to believe it would be attended with the desir'd Success. Accordingly, it was at first demurr'd to, then refin'd upon by Alterations and Amendments; and at last render'd so unpopular, by the Artifices of those in Power, that, after long and violent Debates, it came to nothing.

We are now to touch upon the *Supply*, which, tho' voted and agreed upon, was not completed in the Committee of *Ways and Means*, when Mr. *Chancellor of the Exchequer* entertained the House with the following political Problem.

"By the Resolutions we have already come to, in the Committee of Supply, it will, upon Calculation appear, we have granted his Majesty for the Service of the ensuing Year, a Supply of about 2,025,000*l.* Now as the *Land-Tax* and the *Malt-Tax*, which we have granted, do not both together amount to 1,700,000*l.* there will be a Defi-

Deficiency of near 400,000*l.* which must be provided for, either by increasing some of the Taxes we have already, or by granting some new Tax, or by taking so much from the *Sinking Fund*, or lastly, by the Method I have thought of, and which I shall presently explain to you. As for increasing any of the Taxes we have already, or imposing a new one, I do not think we can make good the Deficiency by either of these Ways; because I do not think the People can *well bear any additional or new Tax*, and the attempting of any such Thing, may alienate the Affections of great Numbers of People from our present happy Establishment, and may contribute towards increasing those Mobs and Tumults, which have of late been so frequent all over the Kingdom: And as for the *Sinking Fund*, the growing Produce thereof is already *appropriated* towards paying a *Million* to the *South-Sea* old Annuitants; so that we cannot make good this Deficiency out of the growing Produce of that Fund, and I do not think it would be proper to *mortgage* any Part of the *Sinking Fund* for this Purpose.

There is, therefore, in my Opinion, no possible Way left for making good this Deficiency but that I have thought of, which

is not by *increasing* any PRESENT TAX, or IMPOSING any NEW ONE, but by REDUCING an old Tax to one Third of what it is at present. This may, at first View, seem to be a *Paradox*; but when I have explained myself, the Mystery will vanish, and every Gentleman will, I hope, approve of the Method I am to propose. Every one knows that, ever since the Year 1699, we have had a Duty of no less than 36 s. a *Barrel*, upon all *Sweets* made for Sale, within this Kingdom, which is so high a Duty, that it has in some Measure, entirely prevented the Making of any such Liquors for Sale."

He then proceeded to shew, That the Reduction of this Duty upon *Sweets*, from 36 s. to 12 s. PROVIDED MADE WINES, which had *never* yet paid any Duty, were for the future, to be rendered *exciseable* under the Head of *Sweets*, would so far increase the Consumption of those Commodities, that by the Duty arising therefrom, the Supply, might be rendered complete.

"For, if we suppose, continued he, That the future Produce of this Duty will amount to 30,000 l. a Year, as it has never heretofore produced, I believe, 30 l. a Year, the Increase upon it will then be a sufficient Fund for borrowing as much as will be necessary for making good the Supplies you
have

have granted for the Service of this ensuing Year.”

There is no need to quote the Arguments which were made use of to explode this notable Project ; for it explodes itself : But however ridiculous and contemptible it may appear to Posterity, it had such Weight with the House, that the *Minister* carry'd his Point upon every Division, except one ; which was occasion'd by a Clause to exempt the Wines, which were the Growth of *English Vines*, from being number'd among *Sweets*.

The next capital Proceeding of this Session that I shall mention, is the *Home Attempt* which was made, not only to set a Mark on the City of *Edinburgh*, for conniving at the Affront which had been offer'd to her Majesty's Regency, by the Mob's hanging up Capt. *Porteous*, while under the Protection of her Royal Reprieve, but to imprison its principal Magistrate, demolish its Gates, deprive it of its Guards, &c. But the Bill, which was calculated to answer all these just and merciful Ends, met with such violent Opposition in every Step, that the C——t was at last oblig'd to compound for the disabling *Alexander Wilson*, Esq; the Lord Provost, from holding any Office in
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Great Britain, and the laying a Fine of 2000 *l.* on the City.

And for a finishing Stroke, towards the very End of the Session, a Bill was brought in to restrain the Licentiousness of the *Stage*, in Resentment for some free Strokes of Satire, which had from thence been levelled at the *Minister*, or rather at Corruption in general. As it was but one Remove more from the *Stage* to the *Press*; as the very same Battery which was play'd off against the First, might be speedily turn'd against the Last, every * Lover of Truth and Liberty, in both Houses, took the Alarm; and laboured in earnest to serve their Country from the Infamy of such a ***. But the Struggle was in vain; the *Minister* made a Point of it; and he was ever invincible.

June 21. His Majesty clos'd the Scene with a gracious Speech; in which the following are the most remarkable Particulars,

“ I return you my Thanks for the particular Proofs you have given me of your Affection and Regard to my Person and Honour; and hope, the *Wisdom* and *Justice* which you have shewn upon some *extraor-*

* See the admirable Speech of the Earl of *Chesterfield* on this Occasion in *Timberland's* History of the House of Lords.

dinary Incidents, will prevent all Thoughts of the like Attempts for the future. The Conduct of this Parliament has been so *uniform* in all your Deliberations upon public Affairs, that it would be as unjust not to acknowledge it, as it is unnecessary to enumerate the several Particulars."

"You cannot be insensible, what just Scandal and Offence the *Licentiousness* of the present Times, under the Colour and Disguise of *Liberty*, gives to all honest and sober Men, and how absolutely necessary it is to restrain this *excessive Abuse*, by a due and vigorous Execution of the Laws," &c.

Among the remarkable Incidents which happened during the Recess, we are to reckon the Prince of *Wales's* removing the Princess his Consort from *Hampton-Court*, where the King and Royal Family then resided, to *St. James's*, when her Royal Highness was under the Pains and certain Indications of immediate Labour, without giving their Majesties any Notice of his Departure. Upon which Occasion, his Majesty in his* Message to his Royal Highness, of *September 10*, was pleas'd to express himself as follows,

"This extravagant and undutiful Behaviour, in so essential a Point as the Birth of

* See the Letters printed, about this Time, by Authority.

an Heir to my Crown, is such an Evidence of your premeditated Defiance of me, and such a Contempt of my Authority, and of the natural Right belonging to your Parents, as cannot be excused by the pretended Innocence of your Intentions, nor palliated or disguised by specious Words only."

"But the whole Tenour of your Conduct, for a considerable Time, has been so entirely void of all real Duty to me, that I have long had Reason to be highly offended with you."

"And until you withdraw your Regard and Confidence from those by whose Instigation and Advice you are directed and encouraged in your unwarrantable Behaviour to me and to the Queen, and until you return to your Duty, you shall not reside in my Palace; which I will not suffer to be made the Resort of them, who under the Appearance of an Attachment to you, form the Division which you have made in my Family, and thereby weaken the common Interest of the Whole."

"In this Situation I will receive no Reply: But when your Actions manifest a just Sense of your Duty and Submission, *That* may induce me to pardon, what at present I most justly resent."

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"In the mean time, it is my Pleasure that you leave St. *James's* with all your Family, when it can be done without Prejudice or Inconvenience to the Princess. I shall for the present leave to the Princess the Care of my Grand-daughter, until a proper Time calls upon me to consider of her Education." Sign'd G. R.

To this may be added, That his Royal Highness having attempted to make his Application to the Queen, the Earl of *Grantham*, her Majesty's Chamberlain, received Orders, *Sept. 15*, to return the following Answer, directed to Lord *Baltimore*.

"The Queen is very sorry, that the Prince's Behaviour has given the King such just Cause of Offence : But thinks herself restrained by the King's last Message to the Prince, from receiving any Application from the Prince upon that Subject. I am,

My Lord, your Lordship's, &c.

GRANTHAM."

How long her Majesty continued in this Disposition, we must not take upon us to determine. On the 20th of *November* following, she was call'd from hence, and left behind her a Character, which was set forth in a very pompous Manner, both by
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one Dr. *Allured Clark*, and the House of Commons.

To return to our *National Affairs* :

During all this Interval, the *Spaniards* having continued their Depredations, our Ministers themselves were at last made sensible of the miserable Situation into which their Ignorance or Connivance had reduced us: But they continued only to *complain* of the *Excesses* of the *Guarda Costa's*: Nay, they were so ignorant as to mention the Regulations about *visiting* in the Treaty of 1667, as extending to our Commerce in *America*, as well as in *Europe*: They demanded, That *some Moderation* might be used by the *Spaniards* in the Exercise of their injurious Pretension so long submitted to, and they thought of *Compounding* to have it *softened*: They would even have *left this Composition*, in a Case where all Composition must be deemed scandalous as well as ruinous, to the *Option* of *Spain*; for they * desired, ' That ' the *Guarda Costa's* Commissions (which ' are given by the *Spanish* Governors) ' should *either* be absolutely *recalled*, or *so* ' limited as not to leave them at Liberty to ' act in this manner.' That is, in effect, they desired, That *at least somewhere* the

* D. of N. Lett. Dec. 19. 1737.

British Ships might sail without Danger, that *some Limits* might be given, *some small Quantities* of *American Goods* licensed, *some Trade* in *America* allowed, and that a *Spanish Cedula* might (instead of a Convoy) secure the *British* Ships in their Passage from *Britain* to her Colonies. And what was this, but to acknowledge an absolute Dominion in the Crown of *Spain* over the *American Seas*? The King of *Great Britain* must have submitted, in this Case, to such an Indignity in the *West Indies*, as private Merchants, *British* and *Dutch*, would never submit to in the *East Indies*, when the *Portuguese*, above a Century ago, pretended to suffer no Navigation there, except under their Passports.

Yet thus our Ministers proceeded, and which is almost incredible, after they had confessed that they knew the *Spanish* Complaint of illicit Trade, was an evasive Answer only; and after that they had lamented, That in all the *Spanish* Cedulas, there was no getting rid of that clogging Clause. A clogging Clause, indeed, it had proved in the Reparation justly due to our Merchants: A Clause, which our Ministers might have perceived (as every body else did) had rendered all the Cedulas obtained, in particular Cases, ineffectual, and must

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continue to do so, as long as the Point, upon which the whole Dispute turned, remained undecided.

But this is not all ; something more monstrous remains to be told. The *Expedients* they proposed were pitiful and mean, dishonourable and destructive. But the *Admission* they made by their Declaration in 1732, was worse. No Enemy of *Great Britain* would have urged any thing more to our Disadvantage, in the Course of such a Negotiation. For in that Declaration, (as if they meant to furnish new Reasons to the *Spanish* Minister to refuse, what they lamented they could not obtain) they not only admitted formally that a most notorious illicit Trade was carried on by the *British* Subjects in *America*, but that these Traders were protected in this Breach of Treaty by the *British* Ships of War. Such an Admission could not have been made at any Time, nor in any Manner, by Ministers who knew what they were about, and who had a National End in their Negotiation ; or, if it had slipped inadvertently from them, yet as the supposed Protection of *British* Ships of War to *British* Smugglers, could not be more injurious to the *Spaniards* than their Pretension is to the *British* fair Trader, and to the Freedom of our Navigation,

gation, the Prohibition of the First ought to have been attended, at least, by a Disavowal of the Second. Nothing of this Nature was done. Our Ministers gave up the Cause of their Country often; they asserted it, never.

However, at last, in *January 1737-8*, they perceived, or seemed to perceive, the whole Ridicule of the *Spanish* Complaint, as it was urged for a Reason to support the Pretensions of that Crown: They complained then *, ‘That the Preventing the
‘ *British* Subjects from carrying on an illicit
‘ Trade, was made a Sort of Condition of
‘ the King of *Spain*’s not suffering Ships,
‘ acting by his own Commissions, to seize,
‘ plunder, and detain *British* Ships, which
‘ had not been concerned in carrying on
‘ any illicit Commerce.’ Now, to make
That a Condition of not interrupting our Navigation, was to use this Nation as the most impotent State never was used by the most powerful. To demand it at all, was not less ridiculous, than if we should demand of the Court of *France* to hinder the Smugglers from infesting our Coast. But to insist upon it as the Court of *Spain* had

* Lett. D. of N. *January 1737-8*.

done, ought to have convinced our Ministers long before, of what they were at last forced to own *, ‘ That they have little
 ‘ Hopes of engaging the *Spaniards* to set
 ‘ aside the Methods that have been hither-
 ‘ to followed, in Consequence of the origi-
 ‘ nal Laws and Institutions of the *Indies*.’

In this Manner was *Britain*, who had been lately one of the most respected Powers in *Europe*, negotiated by her Ministers into a Despair of recovering, from one of the weakest Powers, the plainest and most essential of her Rights.

And to this Condition were Affairs reduc’d,
 1737-8. *Jan.* 24. When, notwithstanding the recent Death of his Royal Consort, his Majesty had the Goodness to open the *Fourth Session* in Person, with a most gracious Speech to both Houses; which, being of the *laconic* kind, will bear to be inserted entire.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I have called you together for the *necessary* Dispatch of the *public Business*, which, I hope, will be carried on with that Prudence, and Expedition, which becomes the Wisdom of Parliament.”

† Mr. K. Lett. *January* 1st, 1737-8.

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Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I have ordered the Estimates for the Service of the current Year to be laid before you ; and the *Readiness*, which I have *always* found in you to make the *necessary Provisions* for the Honour, Peace, and Security of my Crown and Kingdoms, leaves me no Room to doubt of the *same Zeal*, Affection, and due Regard for the Support of my Government, and the public Safety.”

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I hope you are met together in a Disposition to lay aside all *Heats* and *Animosities*, which may *unnecessarily* protract this Session. I am determined, That the Affairs of the Public shall suffer no Delay, or Interruption, from *me*, upon any *Account* whatsoever.”

It hath been already hinted, That the House of Commons thought it not beneath them, to strew the Flowers of Court-Rhetoric on the Ashes of the *all-accomplished* Queen *Caroline*.—But so high a Strain of Loyalty deserves more than a bare Mention ; and the Address itself, which contains these monumental Odours, like *Pliny's* Panegyric upon *Trajan*, ought to be handed down to Posterity, as a Master-piece, to be imitated, no doubt, often ; to be equall'd, never.

After an introductory Compliment of humble and *grateful Thanks*, our supple Representatives thus proceeded,

“ To speak our *utmost Sense* of the great *Loss* your Majesty and these *Kingdoms* have lately sustained, would be to revive and aggravate, what we wish to alleviate and dispel ; but we hope your Majesty will pardon the *Intrusion* of our sincere Condolance, when you reflect on the double Duty, by which we are bound, as affectionate Subjects to your Majesty, and as Representatives of the People of *Great Britain*, not to pass over in Silence this Object of *your Distress*, and *their universal Mourning*.

“ When we reflect on the amiable private Character of that great Princess, on her personal and domestic Merit, as an *indulgent* and *instructive* Parent, a mild and gracious Mistress ; or, with Regard to your Majesty, as uniting in one, all the different Characters of the most pleasing as well as constant Companion ; the most able as well as the most faithful Friend ; the most tender as well as the most *observant Wife* ; when we reflect on these Circumstances, we mourn her Loss, as the *greatest* with which your Majesty and your Royal House could have been afflicted ; But when we turn our Thoughts to her *great* and *public* Virtues,
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her Love of *Justice*, her *Attachment* to the Laws and Principles of this wise and happy *Constitution*, her extensive Charities, her boundless Benevolence, her Succour to Distress, her Favour to Merit, her Lenity to all. When we consider these Parts of her high Character, it is no longer for particular and personal Causes that we grieve; it is a *national Loss* we lament.

“ If a due *Submission* to superior Authority, and a due *Exercise* of Power, when committed to her Hands, are the strongest Marks of Excellence in both Parts of Government; and, if these justly claim Praise and Admiration, how can we sufficiently praise or admire her Conduct, either in the *Presence* or *Absence* of your Majesty? In the first we saw the most *constant Compliance* with your *Will*; in the last, the *true Representation* of him, with whose delegated Authority she was vested; FOR ALL HER ACTS WERE GREAT, AND WISE, AND GOOD; alternately we beheld her Submission in this Character, and felt her Mildness in the other; and, great as the Distance may seem from Command to Subjection, the Transition to her was easy, whose *Abilities* were equal to any Situation, and whose *Temper* could conform to ALL; as *resigned* to the Duties of a *Queen-Consort*, as capable of the

High Office of *Guardian of the Realm*; as ready to *submit*, as *able to command*, and equally an *Example to all Sovereigns*, when the ruled, and to all *Subjects*, when the obeyed.

“ And though your Majesty’s just and great Concern on this Occasion, would perhaps receive no Extenuation from the Comfort your faithful Commons might vainly try to administer; yet, that nothing may be wanting on our Parts, which may contribute to the making your Majesty’s Government (THE SOURCE OF OUR PROSPERITY!) as easy to yourself, as it has ever been to your Subjects; we do assure your Majesty, that we will not only carefully avoid all *Heats* and *Animosities*, but will, with the greatest Readiness, effectually raise the *Supplies* necessary for the Service of the current Year; and, with a Zeal and Affection becoming the Representatives of a *grateful* People, make all *necessary Provisions* for the Honour, Peace, and Security of your Crown and Kingdoms,” &c.

So much for Compliment; and as to Business it went on in the usual Course, of Supplies, Fleets, and Armies; which were all granted on Demand, without the least Abatement: *For such was the Minister’s Pleasure.*

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But tho' his Mandates were obey'd, they were not undisputed ; on the Army, for Example, tho' now in a manner authoris'd by the pass'd Experience of so many successive Sessions, when a Motion was made for continuing it on the same Footing upon which it stood the Year before, the L—d N. S. among a Variety of other excellent Matter, had the Spirit to expatiate in the following alarming Manner :

“ Give me leave, Sir, to suppose, that the House of Commons, in some future Reign, should enter into a strict Enquiry, with respect to some of the Measures of the Administration ; that, upon the Issue of such an Enquiry, they should order some of the Ministers to be impeached ; and that those Ministers, for their own Preservation, should advise the King to dissolve the Parliament, and seize upon all our Funds : The most powerful Argument an honest Man at Court (if there should be any such) could use against this Advice, would be to say ; ‘ Sir, ‘ if you do this, your People will take Arms ‘ against you ; the City of *London* will rise ‘ in Arms, and perhaps tear you as well as ‘ your Ministers to Pieces.’ Would not it be a good Answer to say ? ‘ No, Sir, you ‘ have nothing to fear from your People ; ‘ they are unaccustomed to Arms, and un-

acquainted with military Discipline; you
 have a numerous and well-disciplin'd
 Army to depend on; and if any of the
 Officers should hesitate in the least to obey
 your Orders, you may have them immediately
 shot, and give their Commissions to their
 Serjeants or Corporals: You may protect your
 own Honour, and the Lives of your faithful
 Servants, by means of your Army; whereas, if
 you make a Sacrifice of any one of us to a factious
 Parliament, you do not know when or where
 they will stop. This, Sir, would certainly
 be the Answer that would be made by guilty
 Ministers; and I must leave Gentlemen to
 consider, what an Effect it might have upon
 a weak King, and a guilty Cabinet Council.

" Now, Sir, give me leave to suppose, what
 I hope never shall happen, That any future
 weak King should follow such a wicked Advice:
 What Remedy could the People have? What
 Method could they take for vindicating their
 Liberties and Privileges? Would it be possible
 to contrive any other Method than that of open
 Force? And in the Circumstances the Nation
 is now in, can we suppose that such a Method
 would be practicable, if the Court had an
 Army of 18 or 20,000 well-disciplined mercenaries.

enary Troops to depend on? It signifies nothing to say, That the Mutiny-Act would expire; or that the Land-Tax and Malt-Tax-Acts would expire; and that, therefore, the Court could not keep the Army in Order, nor be able to support the public Expence, and pay the yearly Interest growing due to the Creditors of the Public: The Court would immediately set up the Doctrine already too frequently talked of by some unthinking Men, 'That the People were become so factious and seditious, there was no governing them but by arbitrary Power; and that therefore it was become necessary to give the Force of a Law to his Majesty's Proclamation.' This Doctrine, would be propagated thorough the Kingdom, by the Placemen and Officers almost of every Rank and Degree; it would be greedily swallowed; I believe, by most of those called Soldiers of Fortune in the Army; and I am afraid most Men would chuse to submit patiently to an Evil, for which they could not, in all human Probability, see any Remedy, and which there would be great Danger in opposing. The Mutiny-Act, the Land-Tax-Act, and the Malt-Tax-Act, would be continued by Proclamation: And what Soldier would dare to dispute the Continuance of the first, if
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immediate Death were to be the certain Consequence of every such Obstinacy, or Mutiny, as it would then be called? What landed Gentleman, or what Master, would refuse paying his Quota of the Land-Tax, or the Malt-Tax, if the Collectors and Officers were every where to come attended with a Troop of Dragoons, or a Company of Foot? Even the Interest payable to the Creditors of the Public, upon those Debts that were contracted to preserve our Liberties, would be made Premiums for enforcing the Measures of the Court; for, if the Court could pay, or refuse to pay Interest to whomsoever they pleased, we may depend on it, they would pay no Interest but to such as shewed themselves peaceable, obedient and loyal Subjects.

“ Thus, Sir, I think it must appear, That without a Standing Army, our Constitution cannot possibly be irrecoverably overturned; and that with a numerous Standing Army, it may be in the Power of the Court to overturn it whenever they have a Mind.”

A great many other able Members distinguished themselves on the same Side of the Question; but when the Speeching was over, it appear'd the Army had the best of the Argument, by 249 against 164.

It

It is needless, and would be endless, to trace every minute Circumstance, in which the Interest of the Public was made subservient to the Views of those who consulted nothing but *their own*: In every Circumstance, however minute, this was almost uniformly the Case; as if the very Being of Parliaments depended on their doing the Drudgery of the Court.

As to the Land and Malt-Taxes, the Mutiny-Bill, and the Use and Application of the Sinking Fund, the Reader, no doubt, by this Time, has learn'd to consider them as the VAILS of the Administration, and, therefore, to be ask'd only for Form's Sake.

There was, however, yet one Point in which it might be supposed the Nation had still some Chance to get the better of the Administration, and that was the Affair of *Spain*; the negotiating Part of which, we have already explain'd.

But while we only employ'd Counsellors, Embassadors and Couriers, the Court of *Madrid* chose the more decisive Way of acting by *Guarda Costa's*, as usual. In a Word, they continued to take our Ships, and make Captives of our Seamen with as little Ceremony and Danger as ever.

But tho' our Ministers still preach'd up *Non-Resistance*, the People could not be prevail'd

vail'd upon to relish the Doctrine: On the contrary, the Merchants of *London* and *Bristol* set forth their Grievances in Petitions to Parliament; as did, likewise, the Owners of several Ships; upon which, the House once more condescended to grant a Day or Two's Attention to the Cries of the People: In consequence whereof, a Call of the House was order'd, Papers were demanded, and *some* were granted; the suffering Merchants were heard at the Bar of the House, and having produc'd fatal Proofs, that their Complaints were not without Foundation, Mr. *Pulteney*, as prime Advocate for the Nation, entertain'd the House with a very elaborate, pathetic, and animated Speech; in the Course of which, he made the following Propositions, or Motions, to the Committee, *viz.*

“ That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That it is the natural and undoubted Right of *British* Subjects, to sail with their Ships on any Part of the Seas of *America*, to and from any Part of his Majesty's Dominions; and that the seizing and confiscating such Ships, as are not sailing and trafficking in the Havens and Ports which have Fortifications, Castles, Magazines, or Warehouses, or in other Places possessed by the Subjects of the King of *Spain*, is contrary to Equity

Equity and Justice, and a manifest Violation of the Treaties subsisting between the Two Crowns.

“ That it is the indisputable Right of the Subjects of *Great Britain*, to carry in their Ships all Sorts of Goods, Merchandize, or Effects, from one Part of the *British* Dominions, to any other Part of the *British* Dominions; and that no Goods, Merchandize, or Effects so carried, are by the Law of Nations, or any other Treaty subsisting between the Two Crowns, to be deemed or taken as Contraband Goods; and that the Searching of such Ships on the open Seas, under Pre-
sence of finding Contraband Goods, is highly injurious to the Trade of this Kingdom; a Violation of the Law of Nations, and an Infraction of the Treaties subsisting between the Two Crowns.

“ That it may be resolved, That the Subjects of *Great Britain* did hold, and possess Lands in the Province of *Yucatan* in *America*, antecedent to, and at the Time of, the Treaty of 1670; which Treaty confirmed the Right, to every contracting Parry, of such Lands or Places, as Either did at the Time hold and possess: And that the Subjects of *Great Britain* then had, and have at all Times since claim'd, a Right of cutting Logwood in the Bay of *Campechey*, and enjoyed the

the same, without Interruption, till of late Years: Which Right seems further particularly secur'd to us, by the Manner in which the first Article of the Treaty of Commerce at *Utrecht*, confirms the Treaty of 1670, with these remarkable Words; — ‘ Without
 ‘ Prejudice to any Liberty or Power, which
 ‘ the Subjects of *Great Britain* enjoyed, ei-
 ‘ ther through Right, Sufferance, or Indul-
 ‘ gence.’

“ That the attacking of a Fleet of Ships gathering Salt in the Island of *Tortugas*, then under Convoy of one of his Majesty's Ships of War, by two Men of War belonging to the King of *Spain*, firing on the Convoy, and taking four of the said Ships, was a notorious Infraction of the Convention sign'd at *Madrid*, December 14, 1715, and a high Insult on the Honour due to the Flag of *Great Britain*.”

But these Resolutions favouring rather too much of the *unchristian Temper* of Revenge, which the *Minister* seem'd resolved to subdue, he not only, in a long and artful Speech, endeavour'd to make them appear both impolitic and unnecessary, but determined to take off their Edge by the following Qualifyer or Amendment, as he chose rather to call it.

“ That

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“ That the Freedom of Navigation and Commerce, which the Subjects of *Great Britain* have an undoubted Right to, by the Law of Nations, and which is not in the least restrained by Virtue of any of the Treaties subsisting between the Crowns of *Great Britain* and *Spain*, has been greatly interrupted by the *Spaniards*, under Pretences altogether groundless and unjust. That, before and since the Execution of the Treaty of *Seville*, and the Declaration made by the Crown of *Spain*, pursuant thereunto, for the Satisfaction and Security of the Commerce of *Great Britain*, many unjust Seizures and Captures have been made, and great Depredations committed by the *Spaniards*, which have been attended with many Instances of unheard-of Cruelty and Barbarity. That the frequent Applications made to the Court of *Spain*, for procuring Justice and Satisfaction to his Majesty's injured Subjects, for bringing the Offenders to condign Punishment, and for preventing the like Abuses for the future, have proved vain and ineffectual; and the several Orders or Cédulas, granted by the King of *Spain*, for Restitution and Reparation of great Losses sustained, by the unlawful and unwarrantable Seizures and Captures made by the *Spaniards*, have been disobeyed by the *Spanish*

nish Governors, or totally evaded and deluded. And that these Violences and Depredations have been carried on to the great Loss and Damage of the Subjects of *Great Britain* trading to *America*, and in direct Violation of the Treaties subsisting between the Two Crowns."

But however expedient this Amendment was to him, it proved very unpalatable to those who opposed him; and Mr. *W. Plumer*, in particular, concluded his Speech with these remarkable Reasons, why it ought to be rejected, *viz.*

"I shall conclude, Sir, with observing, That the Resolution, as it will stand by Means of the honourable Gentleman's Amendment, or rather the new Resolution he has proposed, will, upon Examination, appear to be in the same Terms with the Answer, which our Ministers have sent to the last *Spanish* Memorial; from whence it will of course be supposed, That the Resolution of this House was dictated by the same Person that drew up that Answer; and I cannot think it consistent with the Honour and Dignity of this House, to give People without Doors any Shadow of Reason for suspecting, That the Resolutions of this House are dictated by our Ministers of State; for in all our Resolutions, but especially upon

on the present Occasion, we ought to speak *our own Sense*, the *Sense* of those we *represent*, the *Sense* of the *Nation*, and not the *Sense* of *Ministers*."

But these very Reasons, instead of prevailing upon the House to *assert* their *Independency*, seem to have had a quite contrary Effect: Ministerial Authority was held the only Authority; and so the Amendment was allow'd to pass without a Division.

An Address, however, was agreed upon, 'That his Majesty would use his Royal Endeavours with his Catholick Majesty to obtain effectual Relief for his injured Subjects; and to convince the Court of *Spain*, that his Majesty can *no longer* suffer such constant and repeated Insults to be carried on, to the Dishonour of his Crown, and to the Ruin of his trading Subjects.' To which his Majesty * was graciously pleased to answer, *I am fully sensible of the many and unwarrantable Depredations committed by the Spaniards, and you may be assured I will make Use of the most proper and effectual Means that are in my Power, to procure Justice and Satisfaction to my injured Subjects, and for the future Security of their Trade and Navigation.*

* April 7, 1738.

The House of Lords having likewise taken the Affair into their Consideration, presented an Address to his Majesty, more explicit, but to the same Effect, and received an Answer to the same Purpose.

During the whole Progress of this Affair, it is to be remember'd, that the *Minister* acted more like a *Spaniard* than an *Englishman*; treating the First as Friends, and the Last as Enemies: And even now, when forced to humour the People with a Prospect, however distant, of having their Losses repaired, and their Wrongs redress'd, he resolv'd to gratify his own Resentment first, and make That which was their Sin their Punishment.

Accordingly, tho' already resolv'd not to draw the Sword, as yet however, he made a Demand of an additional 10,000 Seamen, 10,000 having been already granted, and swell'd the Supply, for all the Items of the Year, to Three Millions Seven Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds.

But notwithstanding he was thus arm'd at all Points, when a Bill was brought in for the Encouragement of our Seamen, which appear'd to be not only highly reasonable in its own Nature, but in a manner necessary, in case of a Rupture with *Spain*, he

so

to managed, that the Bill was dropt, on a Division of 106 against 75.

Thus the *necessary Business* of the Session being dispatch'd, May 20, his Majesty clos'd the Scene with a gracious Speech of Thanks, &c. which concludes with the following Paragraph.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ Agreeable to what hath appeared to be the concurrent Opinion of both Houses of Parliament, I have given Orders to *repeat*, in the strongest and most pressing Manner, my *Instances* at the Court of *Spain*, for obtaining Satisfaction for the many Injuries and Losses sustained by my trading Subjects in *America*, as well as an effectual Security of their Rights for the future ; and I hope, from the *Justice* and *Equity* of the Catholic King, to procure such Satisfaction and Security, as may preserve the Peace, and establish a *free* and *uninterrupted* Exercise of Navigation and Commerce, mutually between the Subjects of both Crowns, pursuant to our Treaties, and the Law of Nations.”

As this Contest with *Spain* was now become the principal Object of the public Attention, it is proper to throw all the Lights upon it, which have hitherto occurred ; at once to justify the Nation, and ex-

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pose

pose the Measures by which they were deluded and betray'd.

Be it known, then, that the Pretension of the *Spaniards* was now become not only too plain to be winked at any longer, but was grown up into a supposed *Right*, which they asserted as directly as they could assert any the most undisputed Right belonging to their Crown or Nation. The *Spanish* Minister, *Monf. de la Quadra*, in his Answer * to a Memorial sent from *England* with a Multitude of Cases, of Ships lately taken by *Guarda Costa's*, openly asserted, ' That the only Navigation the *British* Subjects can claim, in the *West-Indies*, is That to their own Colonies, while they steer *a due Course*, and that their Ships are liable to Seizure and Confiscation, *if it can be proved that they have changed their Rout* without Necessity.' This Pretension, the Child of our compliant Ministers, appeared now so terrible in its full Growth, that it frightened its Parents: In the Draught of a Letter † laid before Parliament, as intended to be sent to the *Spanish* Minister, our Ministers complained of it as ' a most extraordinary and inadmissible Demand, not to be supported even on

* *February* ½⁸, 1738.

† Draught sent *March* 17, 1737-8.

the

‘ the Supposition of the Sovereignty of
 ‘ *Spain* in the *American* Seas. But such a
 ‘ Dominion, they said, was what the King
 ‘ of *England*’s Predecessors never knew, and
 ‘ what he could never submit to.’

When the Matter was brought to this Issue; when the concurrent Sense of the King, the Parliament, and the Nation, was declared against the Pretension of the *Spanish* Court, so long connived at, and favoured by ours, and, in Truth, against the very Principle and Method of Negotiation, which our Ministers had hitherto pursued, a powerful Fleet was fitted out; our first Minister declared, That even he should be ashamed to negotiate any longer; and the People, in general, believed, That the Spirit of the Nation would recover, what the Pusillanimity of the Administration had lost.

But, instead of sending this Fleet to the *West Indies*, it was stationed in the *Mediterranean*. The Summer was spent in Inaction on our Part, for the *Spaniards* continued their Depredations with great Activity, and the Winter was opened with the News, That a Convention would be signed between the Crowns of *Great Britain* and *Spain*: The Contents of which were, at first, with great Industry, concealed.

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But

But we must not confine ourselves to the *Spanish* Affair only : This Summer became remarkable for an *Electoral* Measure in the *North*, which deserves some Notice, for Reasons, that the Fact itself will very sufficiently explain.

Hanover had not only taken a Fancy to, but found an Opportunity to make the * Purchase of, a certain reversionary Right to the poor little Bailiwick of *Steinborst*, upon the Extinction of the Male Line of *Messieurs de Wedercop*. To this End a Treaty was concluded between his Majesty and the D. of *Holstein*, June 14, 1738, whereby the Duke transfers to him all Rights and Claims for 30,000 Crowns : Unluckily, *Denmark* pretended to the same Rights and Claims which had thus been assigned by *Holstein*, together with yet other new acquir'd Titles, deriv'd from certain Transactions which had pass'd between that Court and the *Wedercops* : And finding, that *Hanover*, without any Regard to these Pretensions, design'd to be the first Occupiers, not only sent a Detachment of thirty Dragoons, who got Possession of it, but immediately publish'd a Manifesto, setting forth its Rights, &c.

* See a Pamphlet call'd, *A Farther Vindication of the Case of the HANOVER TROOPS*.

Upon

Upon this the REGENCY of HANOVER, *in support of the Rights and Honour of the King of GREAT BRITAIN*, as is set forth in their Information, dispatched 200 *Hanoverians* to dislodge the *Danes*: A Fray ensued, in which three *Hanoverians*, the *Danish* Officer, and one Soldier, fell: This was follow'd by a long and curious Paper War, which continued, to the no small Diverſion of *Europe*, till all was happily adjusted, by a Treaty concluded at *Hanover*, March 5, 1739, N. S. By the first Article of which, the KING of ENGLAND declares, *That he never had the least Intention* to offend his *Danish* Majesty; and that what had happen'd was to be imputed to *unlucky Circumstances and Mistakes*: By the other Articles, the KING of ENGLAND was to withdraw his Troops, demolish his Works, and put every Thing in *statu quo*: And lastly, three Methods of deciding this whole Affair, was agreed to: His *Danish* Majesty to have the *Choice* of them: And, at last, a definitive Convention was concluded between them, by which *Denmark* makes an absolute Cession of all its Rights to *Steinborſt*, to the Elector of *Hanover*, in Consideration of Money paid, and Money to be paid hereafter: But whether this was actually confirm'd by the late Emperor, or only by his

printed Sign-manual (*L'Estampille, ou Seing imprimé*) as many other Acts have been, as if done during his Life, is not yet known.

Now this important Treaty, plainly and simply as it stands, relates only to the *Hanover* Treaty before spoken of: And tho' the Title of *England* is very freely made use of in it, one would think it reasonable to conclude, That the Nation was no way to be concern'd in it, or affected by it; more especially, as the *definitive* Treaty between the *Emperor* and *France* had been concluded at *Vienna*, Nov. 18, 1738, N. S. by which the Peace and Quiet of *Europe* was all settled, and we were authorized to hope, That our Apprehensions and Expences, were at last drawn to an End.

But, alas! we were still disappointed: For, but NINE DAYS after the Signing of the *Steinborst* Treaty, before spoken of, another was sign'd by the *English* Minister at *Copenhagen*, on the 14th of the very same Month, just as if it waited for, and attended on the Knowledge of that sign'd at *Hanover*, on the 5th, and was to be understood as an Appendix to it. And, indeed, the very Treaty itself, in the declar'd Causes, which are assign'd for making it, seems to have an Eye more to what had lately pass'd between *Hanover* and *Denmark*, then *Den-*
mark

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mark and England, by avowing, That in the PRESENT Situation of the Affairs of EUROPE, their reciprocal Interest requires, that their antient Friendship and Confidence should be RENEW'D and strengthen'd by stricter Tyes.

But if *England* is consider'd, as no doubt it is, by all the Powers of *Europe*, as only an Appendage to *Hanover*, then, indeed, it must be allow'd, That this Renewal had been render'd necessary by the glorious Feats of the *Hanoverians* at *Steinborst*, in support of the Rights and Honours of the KING OF GREAT BRITAIN: And it was but Right and Fit, that *England* should be obliged thereby, as she was, to pay 250,000 Crowns a Year to *Denmark*, for three Years, that the Friendship and Confidence of the two Princes might be restor'd, and *Steinborst* continue in the Possession of *Hanover*.

We are now to return to *England*, where the News of a final Accommodation with *Spain* was every Hour expected; and in Expectation of which, the Opening of the Session was deferr'd from *Jan.* ^{1738-9.}

18, to *Feb.* 1, when the utmost Concessions of the *Spanish* Court being arrived, his Majesty, in his gracious Speech to both Houses, published the glad Tidings, in the following Terms.

“ It

“ It is now a great Satisfaction to me, that I am able to acquaint you, that the Measures I have pursued, have had so good an Effect, that a *Convention* is concluded, and ratified between me and the King of *Spain*; whereby, upon Consideration had of the Demands on both Sides, that Prince hath obliged himself to make Reparation to my Subjects for their Losses, by a certain stipulated Payment; and Plenipotentiaries are therein named and appointed, for regulating, within a limited Time, all those Grievances and Abuses, which have hitherto interrupted our Commerce and Navigation in the *American Seas*; and for settling all Matters in Dispute, in such a Manner, as may for the future prevent, and remove *all* new Causes and Pretences of Complaint, by a strict Observance of our mutual Treaties, and a just Regard to the Rights and Privileges belonging to each other. I will order the *Convention*, and the separate Article to be laid before you.

“ It hath been my principal Care, to make use of the Confidence you reposed in me in this critical and doubtful Conjunction, with no other View, but the general and lasting Benefit of my Kingdoms; and if *all the Ends*, which are to be hoped for, even from *successful Arms*, can be attained, with-

without plunging the Nation into a War, it must be thought, by all reasonable and unprejudiced Persons, the most desirable Event.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I have ordered the proper Estimates to be prepared, and laid before you, for the Service of the current Year. I heartily *wish*, that the Posture of Affairs would have permitted me to *retrench* the public Expences, for which I am obliged to demand the present Supplies: And I make no Doubt, but your experienced Zeal and Affection for me and my Government, and the proper Concern you have always shewn, for the *public Good*, will induce you to grant me such *Supplies*, as you shall find necessary for the Honour and Security of me and my Kingdoms.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I cannot but earnestly recommend it to you, not to suffer any *Prejudices* or *Animosities*, to have a Share in your Deliberation at this important Conjunction, which seems in a *particular Manner*, to call upon you to unite in carrying on such Measures, as will be most conducive to the true Interest and Advantage of my People.”

Upon the Report of this Speech in the House of *Commons*, a Motion was made for
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an Address, containing not only a Paragraph of Thanks in the Beginning, and an Engagement to furnish the necessary Supplies in the End, but the following lumping *Items* in the Body of it.

“ We acknowledge your Majesty’s great Goodness in the *constant Regard* your Majesty has been pleased to express to the *Petitions* and *Complaints* of your Subjects, and the Advice of your Parliament, and in pursuing such Measures for the Honour and Dignity of your Crown, and the true Interest of your People, as your Majesty in your great Wisdom judged to be most proper and advantageous.

“ We congratulate your Majesty on the Success of your Royal Endeavours, in concluding a Convention with the King of *Spain*, whereby Reparation is stipulated to be made and paid to your Majesty’s injured Subjects, and Plenipotentiaries are appointed for regulating ALL those Grievances and Abuses, which have hitherto interrupted our Commerce and Navigation, and for removing ALL future Causes and Pretences of Complaint.

“ We beg Leave to assure your Majesty, That your faithful Commons will effectually support your Majesty in accomplishing and bringing to Perfection this great and necessary

sary Work, in such a Manner as may answer the just Demands and Expectations of your Majesty and your People."

But tho' this Motion was extremely palatable to one Part of the House, it excited Abhorrence in the other; in particular, Sir *William Wyndham* express'd himself upon it to the following Effect:

"Tho' I am not very apt to believe vulgar Reports, yet I am sorry to say, it is but too probable, That the Court of *Spain* has dar'd to trifle with us in a most egregious Manner, notwithstanding the Resolutions both Houses came to last Session; and that they could not be brought to make the least Concession in our Favour, till we had given up every Thing that we ought most strenuously to have insisted on.

"I beg Leave to give my Reasons for thinking so, and these Reasons shall be founded upon the greatest and most unquestionable Authority, the Words of his Majesty's Speech. We are told there, Sir, That a Convention with *Spain* is concluded and ratified; and that, in consequence of this Convention, Plenipotentiaries have been nominated for redressing, within a limited Time, all our Grievances and Abuses. I have no Manner of Design to forestal the Opinion of the House upon this Convention;

tion; I hope we shall be soon favoured with seeing it, and I wish that it may be found a good one. But I beg leave to take notice, That our Ministers would have shewn a much greater Regard for the Sentiments of Parliament than they have done, if this Convention had been communicated to the House before it was ratified. By this Means, Sir, we should not have been put to the ungrateful Task of perhaps condemning a Measure which has had the royal Sanction, and which is now in some Sort irrecoverable. But, how have our Ministry managed? Why, Sir, they put off the Meeting of Parliament for fourteen Days, in order to throw this, I may call it, unsurmountable Difficulty in our Way; and then we are told, That this Convention is concluded, not only concluded but ratified, and not only so, but that Plenipotentiaries are appointed to see it executed, and to carry it into a definitive Treaty. This is a very bold Stroke, especially as the Parliament has already pointed out what our Rights are. If Regard has been had to the Resolutions of Parliament, I can see no manner of Reason for appointing Plenipotentiaries for settling all Matters in Dispute. The Parliament, I think, has already done that, by expressly ascertaining what the
Rights

Rights and Privileges of this Nation with regard to our Navigation in the *Indies* are. Therefore I cannot conceive what these Gentlemen our Plenipotentiaries are to settle, unless they intend, by virtue of their full Powers, to give up some Part of what the Parliament has already found to be the undoubted Right of this Nation."

To these he added several other very affecting Considerations, and concluded with a Motion to leave out all the Paragraphs above inserted, by way of Amendment.

But to obviate this, Mr. *Chancellor of the Exchequer* stood up, and after uttering a-bundance of *notable* Things in his Way, took Occasion to throw in the following bold one,

" Upon the whole, Sir, I will venture to say, That this Negociation has been the *best conducted*, and *the most happily finished*, of any we *meet with in History*. For we have not left the Payment of our Merchants to the Arbitration of Commissaries, or Plenipotentiaries; we have not accepted of an Order upon any of their Chambers in *Spain*; but we have expressly *ty'd down* his *Catholic Majesty* himself; we have obtained his great Seal as a Security for their Payment; and so tender was his Majesty of his Subjects Property, that his Ministers refused to enter
into

into any Negotiation relating to this Affair, till such Time as Reparation for the Losses of our Merchants was fully and expressly stipulated. Such an *express and full Stipulation* is obtained, to the great Confusion, I believe, and Disappointment of some amongst us, who, rather than not see their Contry involved in a War, would be content that she were involved in Calamities, and embroiled with every one of her Neighbours.

“ I will venture to say, That when it was concluded, I thought it *my Happiness* that the Nation would look upon the *Influence* I have in the Government as one of the *principal Means* that brought it about. Nay, I should not be sorry if it was looked upon as a Measure ENTIRELY *my own*.”

“ Last Session, Sir, I remember that I *undertook* to be *answerable* for the Measures which the Government shall pursue while I have the *Honour* to be a *Minister*. I am *prepared to make good my Promise*. I desire no more than a *fair Hearing*; and this, I hope, will not be deny'd me.”

Many other Persons distinguished themselves in the Debate on each Side of the Question: But whoever had the best of the Argument, the *Minister* had the best of the Division; the Amendment being rejected by 230 against 141. Our

Our late Negotiations with *Spain* not having given the desired Satisfaction to the Public, and appearing to be somewhat mysterious in their Nature and Tendency, it was held expedient to call for such Papers as might serve to remove the Veil. Accordingly, a Motion was made by Mr. *Sandys* for the Instructions given to Admiral *Haddock*: But *these* being number'd among the *Arcana Imperii*, it was not held safe to expose them; the Majority (which was 183 to 113) chusing *Darkness* rather than *Light*.

The same worthy *Patriot* then made another Motion for such Memorials or Representations as had been made to the Court of *Madrid*, relating to the Losses of his Majesty's Subjects, &c. But *Reasons of State* being still against him, it pass'd in the Negative, like the foregoing, by 200 against 120.

The *Convention* having, by this Time, been not only laid before both Houses, but appeared in Print, and made its Progress thorough the Kingdom; the whole Nation seem'd to condemn it with one Voice; and the Merchants in particular, from all Parts, almost, follow'd it with Petitions into the House of Commons, desiring to be heard by their Council against it: But the *Minister*, either not caring that *Bad* should be made *Worse*, or believing that the Facts

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they

they had to urge spoke plainly enough for themselves, so bestir'd himself, That when a Motion was made to grant this Indulgence to the suffering Petitioners, it was over-ruled by 227 against 208.

* The Merchants were admitted, however, to be heard by themselves, and Capt. *Vaughan*, who had not otherwise been heard at all, arrived just time enough from his *Spanish* Jail, to inform the House of Commons, That the very *Spaniards* made a Jest of our Submission, and in Contempt, call'd our Mariners the *Galkinas de la Mar*, the *Hens of the Sea*; and that even the Trademen amongst them deserted their Trades to go to Sea, to hunt the *English*.

The Merchants having the first Day, with great Energy, represented their Distress and their Danger, the second Day was spent in examining, as far as the Time would permit, into the short Account, on the Authority of which it was pretended, That the Sum promised (95,000*l.*) by *Spain* had been accepted. But the Particulars of the Treaty were not to be entered into separately. The Question to approve or disapprove the whole *Convention* was to be decided without Loss of Time, and in a summary Man-

* See the *State of the Rise and Progress of our Disputes with Spain*.

ner. A general Address to the Crown was therefore proposed the very next Day. Three such Addresses had been already voted on the like Occasions; gracious Answers had been returned to them all, and still the Grievance continued, nay strengthened upon the Nation. But something was to be done; and what else could be done? An explicit Approbation of this glorious *Convention* could not be expected from the most determined; a separate Examination of every Article it would not bear; nay, an Address confined to the *Convention* itself, an Address that specifically and directly approved the *Convention* might have miscarried; or if it had been carried, they who had voted for it would have been left without any Colour to excuse themselves, and to amuse or puzzle Mankind. *Thanks to the Crown* therefore, were the thin Leaf-Gold used to gild this nauseous Bill. Hopes and Assurances were added, That our *Plenipotentiaries* would obtain what in the Address of 1737-8, had been pointed out to our *Ministers* to insist upon, and what they were so far from having insisted upon, that it did not appear they had once demanded it. A *Compliment* to the Crown, rather than the *Merits* of the *Convention*, became in this manner, the Subject of Debate; and tho'

there could be no room for such a Compliment on this Occasion; unless the *Convention* was a good *Convention*, yet even they who thought it a bad one, caught at this *Expedient* of complimenting the *Minister* under the Veil of a Compliment to the Crown. The House of Lords expressed their *Dependance*, That in the future Treaty the utmost Regard would be had to the Rights of his Majesty's Crown and Subjects. The Commons declared their *Reliance*, That the greatest Regard would be had to our Rights and Possessions. On whom did the One *depend*; on whom did the Other *rely*? on the King. But they had always the same *Dependance* and *Reliance* on his Majesty: They had expressed it the Year before, when they addressed to have the Negotiation put on the true Foot, and brought to a short Issue, by asserting our Right to a free Navigation, and rejecting the impudent Pretension of the *Spaniards* to stop and search our Ships. What had happened since that Time to give Occasion of renewing this Compliment to the Crown? Had we asserted this Right? Had the *Spaniards* departed from this Pretension? There was no Ground to affirm the first; and as to the last, it was notorious, that the *Spaniards* maintained the same Pretension both
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in Word and Action, and that we had not only once more fortified it, as we had done for fourteen Years together, but much more strongly than ever, by admitting it as a Matter of Treaty, after the Sense of the Nation, of the Parliament, and even of the Crown, had been declared against it; for so they had been: And the Addressee of the Two Houses, and the King's Answers in the precedent Session meant this, or they meant Nothing. Who had presumed to act against this declared Sense? Who had presumed to bring a Treaty before the same Parliament that contradicted this Sense, and was built on Principles repugnant to it, or else was designed only to gain Time, and to continue with great Dishonour and Loss to the Nation, the same frivolous Negotiations, rather than interrupt the Ease, ruffle the Mind, or endanger the Power of the Minister? It was the *Minister* himself, it was he who claimed to himself the *Honour* of this Convention, and who had the Front to make the Panegyric of it, but a few Days before he knew it was to appear. Was the *Dependance*, was the *Reliance* of the Parliament placed on him? Could it be expected, That he who had acted like the Tool of *Spain*, after the Passages of the last Year, would act like a Minister of *Great*

Britain this Year? Could it be expected, that the Addresses of this Year should be more regarded by him, than those of the last Year had been? And if they were not more regarded by him, what *Dependance*, what *Reliance* did Experience teach us that we ought to have? What Service could the Nation expect, on this Occasion at least, from a Man who had avowed on the same Occasion one of the most disadvantageous Treaties that ever was made, and who had, by his *Concessions* to *Spain*, put it out of his Power even to speak the Language that a *British* Minister out to hold?

If the *Convention* deserved Censure, and the Minister who own'd it Punishment, for what it did not determine, for leaving our Rights and Possessions in Dispute, and in Truth, for making them disputable, it was at least as liable to Objection in the sole Point determined by it. The Dishonour and Damage accruing to the Nation, by consenting to *treat* on the Freedom of our Navigation to and from the *West-Indies*, instead of asserting it as explicitly and as strongly as we could assert that of our Navigation to and from the *Mediterranean*, or in our own Channel, are indeed of much greater Moment, than the Particular now to be mention'd; but this is of Moment
both

too, in point of Dishonour and Damage both. A bare Exposition of Fact will justify what is here said.

The *Affiento* Contract, and the *Convention* of 1716 being enumerated among the other Treaties in the first Article of this Convention, the Disputes subsisting between the *South Sea Company* and the Court of *Madrid*, might seem to be referred to the *Plenipotentiaries*, and the rather, because the *Extracts* of Papers which the Minister suffered to be laid before Parliament, were silent on that Head : But the Papers produced by the Company shewed, That the King of *Spain* had actually refused to admit any farther Negotiation concerning these Disputes, and that they were not referred, but determined in favour of *Spain*, in order to obtain this Convention. It was indeed, asserted, That the *Spanish* Declaration, concerning the Company, had no more relation to the Convention, than it had to the Grand Alliance : But that Assertion was too daring for any Body but the Grand Assertor to make. His very Friends disowned it, and the Shame of it was left upon himself, and the Declaration was admitted by all, to be the *Condition* of our obtaining the Convention.

Nay, it was immediately proved to his

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Face, and even by *Keene's Letter*, That the King of *Spain* absolutely refused to treat any longer with the Company, and insisted, That they should advance the Sum of Money, which, by the way, they had never owned to be due, but had offered as the Price of obtaining Justice from this Prince. By accepting this *Declaration* the *South Sea Company* was given up, and left at Mercy, the *Convention* was ratified, and the Minister, with whose Privy and Consent the *Spanish DECLARATION* had been made was avowed. In order to palliate the Sacrifice that was made, on this Occasion, of common Sense, something was to be said, and weak as that was, it shall be mentioned, that no Partiality, no want of Candour, may be objected to what is here said of the strange Conduct of our Ministers, and the strange Concessions they made to patch up Matters with *Spain*. It was said then, That the *Declaration* reserv'd only the King of *Spain's* Right of suspending the *Affiento* Contract, in case he had any such Right, and that our accepting of it gave him no new Right. But if our Ministers denied that Right, nothing could be more ridiculous than their accepting the *Declaration*. Either this Acceptance was the meanest Trick to amuse the Court of *Spain*, or was the lowest Quibble to impose upon the *British* Nation.

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Was the Right of suspending the *Aff-*
ento openly denied? if it was not, the Na-
 tion, in whose Place the Company stood,
 was notoriously betrayed. If it was denied,
 the Dispute then must have been given up
 on one Side or the other. Had the *Spa-*
niards yielded, the *Declaration* would not
 have been made. Had our *Ministers* yield-
 ed, the *Declaration* would have been made,
 and it would have been concealed. It was
 made, it was concealed; the only Reason,
 therefore, we have to doubt whether our
Ministers yielded up our Right or not, is,
 that it does not appear they ever asserted
 it.

It was insisted upon, farther, That the Sti-
 pulation of 95000*l.* to be paid by *Spain*, be-
 ing in the Body of the *Convention*, the Court
 of *Spain* stood engaged to pay that Sum,
 whatever the *South Sea* Company deter-
 mined upon the *Declaration*. The Engage-
 ment of the Court of *Spain* was, by the
Convention, absolute, no doubt. That could
 not be denied: But it is as true, That if we
 suppose, notwithstanding the just Grounds
 of suspecting the contrary, that our *Mini-*
sters did not agree that the 68,000*l.* should
 make Part of the *Spanish* Payment; yet it
 is evident, That, as far as in them lay, they
 favoured the Court of *Spain* in her unjust
 Demand on the *South Sea* Company, and
 suffered

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suffered her to threaten, That she would punish the Company, by violating her Treaties with the Crown of *Great Britain*.

The Nation, then, altho' the *South Sea Company* did not comply, was to be paid the large Sum of 95,000 l. This Sum was turned every Way to do Honour to the *Convention*. It was all we had obtained, and, therefore, it was every Thing we wanted. It was paying Costs of Suit ; it was a Confession, That the Seizing of our Ships was an Injury ; it was *full and ample* Reparation for all the Losses of our Merchants ; and it was an Earnest, That in the future Negotiation the *Spaniards* would refuse us nothing. But at the very Time when the *Spaniards* granted this, they must have refused us something, or our undoubted *Right* to a *free Navigation* must not have been asserted by our Ministers. If it was asserted, and not granted, something had been denied us, something that would be denied us again ; since, besides other Reasons that encouraged the *Spaniards* to deny it, they knew by Experience, That the Depredations of one Summer would more than reimburse them for the whole Sum they advanced. But besides, it had more than once appeared, That this supposed necessary Connection, between the Promise of Money, and the
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Acknowledgment of Rights, had no Foundation. The *Spaniards* had formerly offered to compound for their past Depredations by a gross Sum; That Offer, indeed, came to nothing; but this was occasioned only by a Sum, in their Opinion too large, being demanded. Every *Cedula* granted by *Spain*, for Restitution of any particular Capture, it matters not, whether obeyed or not, was still a stronger Confession than any Thing in the *Convention* could be. But neither the *Spaniards* nor our Ministers had ever considered these particular *Cedula's* as Confessions of the Injustice of the *Spanish* Pretensions in general. An implied Confession of that kind, if it was one, was, therefore, not a new Thing obtained by the *Convention*. But there is evidently no Pretence to say, That such a Confession was even implied. The *Spaniards* maintained their Right to make Captures, but consented to pay for such as were made unjustly; that is, Capture to which their Pretension did not extend. Nay, if an implied Confession had been offered by *Spain*, it should have been rejected with Scorn, as a mean Subterfuge to avoid an open Acknowledgment of the Rights of the Nation.

That full and ample *Reparation* was obtained for our *Merchants*, was not denied.

sisted upon; it could in no Light be supported. The Losses, by the very Account given in to justify the *Convention*, amounted to 343,277 *l. Sterling*, and by other Accounts to above 400,000 *l.* To satisfy this Demand, all that was obtained from *Spain* was 95,000 *l.* the remaining Sum of 248,277 *l.* must therefore be either paid by *ourselves*, or deducted from the Account. All the Demands that the *Spaniards* on the other Side, could form against *Britain*, by an exorbitant Computation, did not exceed 180,000 *l.* And even allowing them that Sum, the Balance payable to *Britain* by *Spain* would have amounted, according to the Account, to 163,277 *l.* instead of 95,000 *l.* But as their Demands could not justly exceed 60,000 *l.* the Balance due to us would have been 283,277 *l.*

Our Demands, therefore, were, under some Pretence or other, to be reduced. And for this Purpose, it was said, That 200,000 *l.* would satisfy *every* Claimant. But when the Reasons for this vast Deduction of 143,277 *l.* were demanded, it was answered, That many Claimants were not to have Satisfaction; That all Demands for Ships taken in *Time of War*, were struck off, all Claims over-rated were reduced, and some Claims not made out, were rejected: But

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no Account was pretended to be given, by what Rule the Deduction had been made, no List of the Sufferers by it had been taken, nor had any Notice been given to any one Sufferer, that his Proofs were insufficient; so far from it, that when, upon the Report of a *Convention* being signed, a Sufferer demanded, whether he was included among those were to receive Satisfaction, he was told, That it was not known whether he was, or was not. It was confessed at last, That the Money to be paid, was to be divided among such Sufferers as should find *Favour* in the *Eyes of Commissioners* to be appointed by our *Minister*.

However, the Reduction of our Demands to 200,000 *l.* was not yet found sufficient. As the *Father* of the *Convention* said the first Day, the Account was to be adjusted by accepting something *less* than was due to *us*, and giving the *Spaniards* somewhat *more* than was due to *them*.

The Sum of 60,000 *l.* was therefore admitted to be owing by *Britain*, for Losses sustained by the *Spaniards*; and this Sum was to be given to our Merchants to complete the whole Sum that was to be paid them for their Losses. By this Allowance, the *Spanish Ships* taken in 1718, altho' in *Time of War*, were to be paid for. It had
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been agreed by the Treaty of 1721, to restore these Ships to *Spain* in the Condition they then were, or the Value of such as were sold; and by the same Treaty, the Ships and Effects taken from the *British* Subjects, in Time of War, were agreed to be restored.

After the Rupture of 1726-7, by the Treaty of *Seville* 1729, the Examination of what concerned the *British* Ships taken before the Peace, as well as the *Spanish* Claim for the Ships taken in 1718, was referred to Commissaries. But they never making any Report, our *Ministers* were left at Liberty to strike off the *British* Claim for Ships taken in War, and to admit that of the *Spaniards*. And even their Demand, thus admitted, remained over-rated, by allowing to the *Spaniards* the Value of the Ship *Isabella*, although they had taken the Ship herself from *British* Merchants, who had bought her from our Captors, and fired her out at a great Expence. She was indeed, one of the Ships of War taken from the *Spaniards* in 1718, but was afterwards left in their Hands at *Cadix* as soon as they claimed and seized her; and since they had got the Ship, it was ridiculous to allow them the Price of her likewise. The *British* Purchasers must have been shamefully wrong-

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wronged, if not re-imburfed the Money the Ship had cost them ; and it was an extraordinary Concession to *Spain*, to re-imburse them without deducting the Sum from the *Spanish* Account.

The 343,277 *l.* being by these Allowances on one Side; and Deductions on the other, reduced to 140,000 *l.* to be paid by *Spain*, this Sum was still too large to be obtained. All we were to expect was 95,000 *l.* another Deduction, therefore, was to be made. And accordingly 45,000 *l.* was struck off ; which was said to be done under Pretence of PROMPT PAYMENT. After the *Spaniards* had, for many Years, injuriously detained the Effects of the *British* Subjects, the *British* Ministers stipulate that so large a Sum shall be given, as an Inducement, to those who had robbed us, to make *some* Restitution.. The Uncertainty of the Payments in the *West-Indies*, and even in *Old Spain*, was urged to excuse this Defalcation. But no Reason was given, why our Ministers had not obtained a Promise of 140,000 *l.* as much to be relied on, as the Promise of 95,000 *l.* for which they claimed so much Honour. The Uncertainty of the Payments was not surely an Argument used by the *Spaniards*. It must have been, by the Nature of it, suggested by our Ministers. An Offer

Offer of so large an Abatement, for a Difference so immaterial in the Opinion of the *Spaniards*, who supposed that both Payments were equally certain, must have been made by our own Ministers; and by such an Offer, they shewed as much Unconcern for the past Losses of our Merchants, as they had shewed for the future Security of our Trade.

This last and capital Error in the *Convention* no Cunning could screen: That there was no Stipulation of future Security to our Trade was admitted. The Objection, That our Ministers had not complied with the Address of Parliament, *effectually* to convince the Court of *Spain*, that his Majesty would *no longer* suffer these Depredations, remained unanswered, nay confessed. How could it be denied, since the Depredations were not even to be suspended? It appeared, That the *Convention*, once that best of Treaties, that glorious and final Determination of all our Disputes, was now become no more than a *Preliminary*. In 1727, we had Preliminary Articles, in 1728 a Preliminary Act, in 1729, as to *Britain*, a Preliminary Treaty; in 1732 a Declaration and Preliminary Commissioners, who were to have made a Preliminary Report, and now, in 1738-9, we had obtained a Preliminary

nary Convention. The End of all our Preliminaries to 1730, had been, by a Silence upon our most undoubted Rights, to get out of the Hands of the *Spaniards* the *South Sea Ship the Prince Frederick*; the End of all our Negotiations since has been to purchase, by the like Silence, an inconsiderable Sum of Money for our Losses; so that it appears as if our Ministers had, in their whole Conduct, considered the most valuable Rights of the Nation, only with a View to the Price for which they could be sold.

If the *Convention* had been considered merely as an Effect of the Proceedings of the former Session of Parliament, and if the single Point of Deliberation had been, whether in pursuance of the Addresses, Reparation had been obtained, and such Preliminaries agreed to, for the other Point, as were agreeable to Justice, Prudence, and the Honour of the Nation; to which some Persons insisted, That all Debates concerning it ought to be confined, even in that partial Light we have seen that it would have appeared extremely defective. But surely the proper Heads of Consideration, and those which occurred to every Man who was, in earnest, solicitous for the Interest and Honour of *Great Britain*, were of

a larger Extent and higher Nature: They were these, in short, Whether it was not criminal, ruinous, and dishonourable to agree to any Preliminaries, until an undisputable, plain, and essential Right was asserted; until Justice for Cruelties, as well as Reparation for Damages was obtained, and until a Pretension unsupported and unsupportable, the Child of the Weakness of our Ministers, the Shame of our Country, and the Ruin of our Trade, had been disavowed, given up, and more expressly retracted, than ever it had been asserted. Whether it was not criminal to sign a Treaty, without obtaining a Condition, which the King and the Parliament had pointed out to be the great Object of the Negotiation; a Condition to be insisted upon, not to be referred to Discussion; a Condition that could not be delayed without being refused; and on the Refusal of which, the Nation had engaged to support the King in whatever should be necessary to vindicate his Honour, and assert their Rights: Whether it was not ruinous, to refer a Right to be discussed that was invalidated by being brought into Dispute, and to permit that while the Plenipotentiaries debated, the *Spaniards* should continue Depredations, long before this Time become intolerable: Whether it was
not

not dishonourable, to accept of any implied, supposed, forced, or elusive Acknowledgment of a Right which our very Ministers ought to have blush'd to see disputed, against a Pretension long exercised, openly avowed, formally demanded, and resolutely insisted upon, supposing such an Acknowledgment to have been fairly deducible from the Terms of the *Convention*, as it was not.

Upon the Whole, after a Debate, which lasted till near One o'Clock in the Morning, the House divided, and the Compliment of *Thanks* before-mentioned, was resolv'd upon by 260 against 232. How justly may be gather'd, not only from the Facts and Reasonings already recounted, but from the Necessity which soon after obliged us to recall their Excellencies Mess. *Keene* and *Castres*, and refer the final Decision of our Disputes to the Sword,

Both Parties, however, on the Morrow, return'd to the Charge again ; a Motion was made to re-commit the Resolution of the preceding Day ; many warm Speeches were made on both Sides, and on a Division, the *Minister* again carry'd the Day, by 244 against 214. The Question being then put upon the Address, Sir *William Wyndham* rose up, and express'd himself to the following Purpose.

“ I do not rise up, after a long Debate, to give you again my Sentiments upon the *Convention*, which we are now, it seems, to approve of; but to express my great Concern at what I have seen happen. In all the Variety of Company I have kept, I have never heard a single Person without Doors pretend to justify this *Convention*; and when the Sentiments of Particulars were such, I did not expect, when they were met together in a Body, to see a *Majority* vote for it. This must be owing to one of these two Causes: Either Gentlemen were convinced by the Arguments made use of in this House, for justifying this *Convention*; or there are *other Methods* of *convincing* besides Reason. I am not at Liberty to suppose it the latter, therefore, I must suppose it the former. But this, Sir, is to me a very melancholy Consideration; for tho’ I have attended with the utmost Regard to all that has been said upon this *Convention*, I have not heard a single Argument in its Favour, that has had the least Weight with me. This, I say, Sir, is a very melancholy Consideration to me, since it makes me conclude, that I have not common Sense, because I find I cannot be convinced by the Strength of *common Reason*; and therefore I think myself very unfit to do my Duty in this House.

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While I sit here, I am resolved never to be directed by any thing but Reason ; and, as I must now conclude, that I do not understand Reason when I hear it, I must think myself incapable of doing my Duty in this House ; therefore I am resolved to retire to the Country, and there perform my Duty as far as I am able, by acting in Conformity to the Laws, and in Obedience to the Government.

“ However, I must beg Gentlemen to consider the Consequences of the Vote they are now going to give. This Address is intended to convince Mankind, that the Treaty now under our Consideration is a reasonable and an honourable Treaty for this Nation ; but if a Majority of 28, in such a full House, should fail of that Success ; if the People should not implicitly resign their Reason to a Vote of this House, what will be the Consequence ? Will not the *Parliament* lose its *Authority* ? Will it not be thought, that, even in *Parliament*, we are governed by a *Faction* ? And what the Consequences of this may be, I leave to those Gentlemen to consider, who are now to give their Vote for this Address. For my own Part, I will trouble you no more ; but, with these my last Words, ‘ I sincerely pray to
‘ Almighty God, who has so often wonder-
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‘ fully protected these Kingdoms, that he
 ‘ will graciously continue his Protection
 ‘ over them, by preserving us from that
 ‘ impending Danger which threatens the
 ‘ Nation from without, and likewise from
 ‘ that impending Danger which threatens
 ‘ our Constitution from within.’

Sir *William* had no sooner done speaking,
 but he left the House, and was follow’d by
 almost the *whole Minority*, who *then* seem’d
 to have, wisely and bravely, resolv’d no longer
 to countenance Measures they could neither
 approve nor prevent.

The ministerial Herd seeming to be a lit-
 tle alarm’d at an *Incident* so extraordinary
 and unexpected, their *Leader* took the Hint,
 to express himself with a Licentiousness
 which had never been allowed within those
 Walls before—Let Posterity be the Judge!

These are said to have been his Words:
 “ The Measures which the Gentleman who
 spoke last, and his Friends, may pursue, give
 me no Uneasiness. The Friends of the Na-
 tion and his Majesty are obliged to them
 for pulling off the Masque, by making this
 public Declaration. We can be upon our
 Guard, Sir, against *open Rebellion*, but ’tis
 hard to guard against secret Treason. The
Faction I speak of, Sir, never sat in this House,
 they never joined in any public Measure of
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the Government, but with a View to distress it, and to serve a *Popish Interest*. The Gentleman who is now the Mouth of *this Faction*, was looked upon as the Head of *these Traitors*, who twenty-five Years ago conspired the Destruction of their Country, and of the Royal Family, to set a *Popish Pretender* upon the Throne. He was seiz'd by the Vigilance of the then Government, and pardoned by its Clemency; but all the Use he has ungratefully made of that Clemency has been to qualify himself according to Law, that he and his Party may, some time or other, have an Opportunity to overthrow *all Law*.

"I am only afraid, Sir, that they will not be so good as their Word, and that they will return to Parliament; for I remember that, in the Case of a favourite Prelate, who was impeached of Treason, the same Gentleman, and his Faction, made the same Resolution. They then went off like *Traitors* as they were, Sir; but their Retreat had not the detestable Effect they expected and wished, and therefore they returned. Ever since, Sir, they have persevered in the same *treasonable* Intention of serving that Interest by distressing the Government. But I hope their Behaviour will unite all the true Friends of the present happy Establishment of the Crown in his Majesty's Person and

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Family more firmly than ever; and that the Gentlemen who, with good Intentions, have been deluded into the like Measures, will awake from their Delusion, since the *Trumpet* of Rebellion is now in a manner sounded."

With regard to the other Business of this Session, it will be sufficient to observe, That the Army was continued for another Year, as before; That the Complement of Seamen was fix'd at 12,000 *l.* That 75,583 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* was granted by way of Levy-Money and Subsidy to the King of *Denmark* for 6000 Troops, taken into *British* Pay, immediately after the Affair of *Steinborst*; That a Clause was calculated to levy 60000 *l.* of the People of *England*, as a Debt to *Spain*, which, with the further Sum of 95,000 *l.* to be advanced by *Spain*, was to make good the Losses of our Merchants, in case the *Convention* had been fulfilled: That 500000 *l.* was granted out of the Produce of the *Sinking Fund*, by way of Vote of Credit: That the whole Amount of the Supply was 2,638,363 *l.* 10 *s.* 4 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$. That the King was enabled to settle an Annuity of 15000 *l.* *per Ann.* on the Duke of *Cumberland*, and 24000 *l.* *per Ann.* on the Four Princesses; and that his Majesty closed the Session with a gracious Speech, containing *Thanks*, &c. and concluding thus: "I

“ I am persuaded it is unnecessary for me to recommend to your serious Consideration, the fatal Consequences that may threaten a Nation divided within itself, inflamed, and misled by all the *wicked Arts and Insinuations*, that *Malice and Falshood* can suggest. It is too obvious, what Advantages our common Enemies wait to take from the *Heats and Animosities*, that, under *groundless Pretences*, are industriously fomented, and spread throughout the Kingdom. Let all, who profess themselves zealous Assertors of the Rights and Privileges, Laws and Liberties of their Country, and of the *Protestant Religion* under the *present Establishment*, unite in the Defence of *these inestimable Blessings*. Let the Honour, Prosperity, and Safety of the Kingdom become one common Cause, and reconcile all *civil Discords and Divisions*; that, by your Unanimity, you may disappoint the *only Hopes* and vain Expectations of our Enemies.”

It is now necessary to remind the Reader that, by the *Declaration* annex'd to the *Convention*, the King of *Spain* reserved to himself a Right to suspend the *Assiento*, in case the *South Sea Company* refused to pay him 60,000*l.* being his Catholic Majesty's Demand on the said Company: But This the Company thought they had a Right to refuse,

refuse, unless the King, upon whom they had vast Demands, on account of the various Seizures made of their Effects by his Orders, would agree to compound the Debt, and allow them 130,000 *l.* as the Nett Balance in their Favour. To this Proposal, however moderate, the Court of *Madrid* turn'd a deaf Ear: They had the *Company* at their Mercy, and resolv'd to make them know it; nay, as if they had the *English* Nation at their Mercy too, they declined paying the very 95000 *l.* to which the Claims of *England* had been reduced by her pliant Agents, at the Time it became due; Urging in Excuse, That Admiral *Haddock's* Squadron was not * recall'd; that the Declaration, with respect to the *Affiento*, had not been comply'd with, &c.

But by this Obstinacy on their Side, the Eyes of our *Minister* were at last open'd, and he had Reason to be convinc'd of the Impossibility, that any Concessions on ours, could at the same time prevent a Rupture, and pacify the Resentments of the Nation.

Under this double Necessity, therefore, he found himself oblig'd, however reluct-

* Note, The Convention was ratify'd here Jan. 24. The 29th, Admiral *Haddock* was order'd to return Home; and March 10, counter Orders were dispatch'd, requiring him to continue at *Gibraltar*.

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ant, to draw the Sword, tho' nothing could induce him to throw away the Scabbard.

Accordingly, *June 15*, Orders were issued privately for making Reprisals on the *Spaniards*, which were dispatched by a Man of War on the 19th following; and some time after Admiral *Haddock* was furnished with the like Powers, on the Authority of which, he began to cruize off of *Cadiz*, in order to intercept such *Spanish* Ships as should fall in his Way.

July 10, these Orders for Reprisals were made public; and as soon as the Court of *Spain* had Intelligence thereof, they issued the like; and also, that all the Ships, Goods, and Effects of the *British* Subjects in the *Spanish* Dominions should be seized and confiscated; which was an express Violation of the Treaties between the Two Crowns, even in case a War had been declar'd.

An open Rupture was now, therefore, become unavoidable, and yet so loth was our pacific *Minister* to give way to it, that it was not till the 23d of *October* following, that the War was declar'd in form.

But tho' that great *Man* was thus slow in letting loose his Resentment upon the *Spaniards*, he made quicker Work at home: So early as *June 6*, a hot Press commenc'd for *Seamen*; on the 16th, an Embargo was laid

laid on all Shipping in all the Ports of *Great Britain and Ireland*; from which last Country Ten Regiments were likewise imported, One Hundred and Thirty Men of War, of all sorts, manned with 34588 Hands, were put into Commission before the End of *November*: Orders were likewise issued for augmenting all the Regiments in the Service, and finally to raise a large Body of *Marines*, which, when completed, swell'd our *Land Forces* to between Fifty and Sixty Thousand Men: With the Help of all which prodigious Preparations, we made a Shift to surprize Two *Carracca* Ships in their Return to *Spain*, by the Beginning of *October*; and Admiral *Vernon* (who sail'd from *Portland Road*, July 31, to intercept the *Affogues*, but being disappointed, proceeded on to the *West-Indies*) made himself Master of *Porto Bello*, with Six Ships only, November 22.

But some Days before this remarkable Event took Place, viz. Nov. 15, the King was pleas'd to open the *Sixth Session* with a most gracious Speech; in which, having premis'd, That in all his Proceedings with the Court of *Spain*, he had been directed by the Sense of both Houses; having also enlarged on the Augmentations he had made in his Forces by *Sea* and *Land*, and express'd

expres'd his firm Dependance on their known Affection for a suitable Supply, &c. his Majesty proceeded as follows :

“ The *Heats* and *Animosities*, which, with the *greatest Industry*, have been fomented throughout the Kingdom, have, *I am afraid*, been one of the chief Encouragements to the Court of *Spain*, to hold such a Conduct towards us, as to make it necessary to have recourse to Arms; and the *unhappy Divisions* amongst my Subjects are the *only Hopes* of the Enemies to my Government : But whatever Views and Projects they may form upon this Rupture, and what Advantages soever *Spain* may vainly promise itself from any Circumstances in the present Situation of Affairs; it is in your Power, by the Blessing of *God*, to defeat the one, and disappoint the other. Union amongst all those who have nothing at Heart but the true Interest of *Great Britain*, and a becoming Zeal in the Defence of my Kingdoms, and in the Support of the common Cause of our Country, with as *general a Concurrence* in carrying on the War, as there has appeared for *engaging* in it, will make the Court of *Spain* repent the Wrongs they have done us; and convince those, who mean the Subversion of the *present Establishment*, that this Nation is determined,

ed, and able, both to vindicate their injured Honour, and to defend themselves against all our open and *secret* Enemies, both at *Home* and Abroad."

Before we pursue the Business of the Session, it is requisite to specify, That, at the Instance of Mr. P. * that noble Resolution which had been so lately taken by the *Minority* to concern themselves no more with the Business of *Parliament*, till *Parliaments* were really, as well as nominally the *Representative* of the People, was broke thro'; and the *Minister* had the Glory, I cannot say the Satisfaction, to see his Prophecy fulfilled; which Fickleness or Inconsistency, in the Debate, occasioned by the Motion for the Address of Thanks, we find the said Mr. P. thus endeavouring to excuse :

"This Step (however it has been hitherto censured) will, I hope, for the future be treated in a different Manner, for it is fully justified by the *Declaration of War*, so universally approved, that any further Vindication will be superfluous. There is not an Assertion maintained in it that was not almost in the same Words insisted upon, by those who opposed the *Convention*. Every Sentence in it is an *Echo* of what was said in our Reasonings against that Treaty; and

* See *The Defence of the People*, p. 30.

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every positive Truth, which the Declaration lays down, was denied with the utmost Confidence by those who spoke for the *Convention*. Since that Time, Sir, there has not one Event happened that was not then foreseen and foretold : But give me Leave to say, Sir, that tho' the Treatment which we have since received from the Court of *Spain* may have swelled the Account, yet it has furnished us with no new Reasons for declaring War; the same Provocations have only been repeated, and nothing but longer Patience has added to the Justice of our Cause.

“ It is, therefore, evident, That if the War be now necessary, it was necessary before the *Convention* : Of this Necessity, the Gentlemen (known, however improperly, by the Name of *Seceders*) were then fully convinced : They saw, instead of that Ardour of Resentment, and that Zeal for the Honour of *Britain*, which such Indignities ought to have produced, nothing but Meanness, and Tameness, and Submission; and their natural Consequences, a low, temporary Expedient, a shameful *Convention* ; a *Convention* which, had the *Spaniards* not madly broken it, must have ended in our Ruin, must have thrown our own Navigation into the Hands of our Enemies. To such a Conduct as this, they could give no
Sanction;

Sanction; they saw that all Opposition was ineffectual, and that their Presence was only made use of, that what was already determined might be ratify'd with the plausible Appearance of a fair Debate: They, therefore, seceded, if that Word must be used on this Occasion, and refused to countenance Measures which they could neither approve nor defeat.

“ The State of Affairs is now changed; the Measures of the Ministry are now altered; and the same Regard for the Honour and Welfare of their Country, that determined these Gentlemen to withdraw their Countenance from such a Conduct as they thought had a Tendency to destroy them, has brought them hither once more, to give their Advice and Assistance in those Measures, which they then pointed out, as the only Means of asserting and retrieving them.”

Having thus clear'd up this Point, we are now to proceed to the Address of Thanks; which, tho' objected to on account of the Mention it made of *Heats* and *Animosities*, in correspondence to the last Paragraph in his Majesty's Speech, was carry'd without a Division: Indeed, the whole was but an Engagement in form, to comply with every Thing which the Crown had recommended,
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and seem'd much better calculated for the Meridian of *Paris* than *London*.

And from Promises, they fell as fast as possible to Performance. A Supply was voted of course; Provision was made for 35000 *Seamen*, 28,852 *Soldiers*, and 4890 *Marines*, besides an Augmentation of the Invalids; which, together with the other Demands of the Year, stood the Nation in * 3,874,076 *l.* 3 *s.* 7 *d.* 3 († 400,000 *l.* for a Portion for the Princess *Mary* included.)

But the *A/s*, it seems, was not yet sufficiently loaded; a farther Sum, therefore, was at first verbally demanded by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*; and afterwards by *Message*, for the Support of certain Measures, then under Consideration, which would occasion some extraordinary Expences, not comprehended in the *Estimates* laid before the House; which had such Weight with the House, that they, readily and chearfully,

* Which was rais'd by the Malt-Tax, computed at 700,000 *l.* Four Shillings in the Pound on Land, computed at 2,000,000 *l.* 88,722 *l.* 7 *s.* 10 *d.* over-plus of Grants for the Service of 1739. One Million out of the *Sinking Fund*. From the growing Produce of the said Fund 200,000 *l.* and 21000 *l.* 1 *s.* 8 *d.* ½ which was the Produce of the Sale of Land in *St. Christopher's*.

† Granted *Nemine Contradicente*, tho' the first Marriage Portion, which had been given by Parliament to a younger Daughter of the Royal Family.

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threw in a Grant of *Two Hundred Thousand Pounds* more.

We are now to observe, That the Estimate for the *Marines* was presented to the House, by the *Secretary at War*, whereas it was formerly a Part of the *Admiral's* Province.

* Upon this Account, several Gentlemen made Enquiries into the Establishments and Expences of our Fleets and Armies, during the Wars in the late *King William's* and *Queen Anne's* Time; and next Day, a Motion was made by *Lord Polwarth*, for an Address to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give Directions, that the Establishment of the six Regiments of *Marines* for the Year 1704, should be laid before the House. Upon this, *Mr. Secretary at War* acquainted the House, That he had diligently searched his Office for that Establishment, without being able to find it; and therefore he believed it had been burnt, when the Under Secretary of that Office, some Years before, had the Misfortune to have his House burnt; so that it would be to no Purpose to agree to the Motion, and might be a Cause of Delay. This occasion'd some sort of Debate; and after several

* See *Annals of Europe* for the Year 1740. Mem-

Members had spoke for and against the Question, without pointing out the Mistake, Mr. *Sandy* rose up, and said, That the honourable Gentleman might have saved himself the Trouble of searching in his Office for that Establishment, which was to be found only at the *Admiralty-Office*; for our *Marines* were then, as they always ought to be, under the Direction and Command of the Lord High Admiral. The Lord *Polwarth* then rose up again, and said, That he did not know whether the Gentlemen in the Administration could find the Establishment he had moved for, but he would acquaint them, that he had found it, and had procured a Copy of it, which they were welcome to look into, if they pleased. At last, all Opposition to the Motion was given up, and the Address agreed to. As the House presently after resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider further of the Supply granted to his Majesty; and as this Resolution was then proposed, it was opposed on Account of the said Estimate's being very *different* from, and more *expensive*, than the Establishment of *Marines* in the Queen's Time; but as the Establishment was not then regularly before the House, the Argument could not be enforced with a proper Authority; so that

the Resolution was agreed to in the Committee, without any great Opposition. But the Report being next Day put off, Sir Charles Wager, on the 30th, presented to the House the said Establishment for six Marine Regiments, Anno 1704; and Mr. Scrope, by his Majesty's Command, presented to the House an Extract of the Establishment of Guards and Garrisons for the Service of the Year 1704, as far as the same related to the Pay and Charges of six Regiments of Soldiers raised for Sea Service, with their Officers, &c.

Then a Motion was made, That the said Establishment and Extract might be read, which was accordingly done; whereupon Edmund Waller, Esq; stood up, and by comparing the present Estimate with the Establishment in the Year 1704, he clearly shewed, that tho' we were not now to have so many Men, by some *Hundreds*, as we had in the Year 1704; yet they were to cost us above 8000 *l.* more yearly. This introduced a long Debate, in which the *Minority* were Speakers for disagreeing with the Committee, in order to have the Establishment altered, and made, as they said, both *more serviceable* and *less expensive* to the Public, tho' not so serviceable to the *Minister*.

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When the Ordinary of the Navy came under Consideration, the Lord Viscount *Baltimore* endeavoured to shew, That in several Articles in the Estimates there was a great Probability of their being over-rated, or extravagantly charged. This brought on a Debate; but as his Lordship had made no Motion, the Lord *Polwarth*, after having started several new Objections against the Estimate then before them, undertook to shew the Impossibility of examining such Things in a Committee of the whole House; and therefore he concluded, with proposing, that the ordinary Estimate of the Navy be referred to a *Secret Committee*. But the Motion not being insisted on, the Estimate was taken into Consideration, and the Resolution agreed to, in the Committee of Supply; and upon the Report agreed to by the House.

Popularity next to Royal Favour, is held the most desirable Thing to great Men in mix'd Governments like ours; for which Reason, we find our *leading Patriots* making their Court to the *People*, with almost as much Assiduity as *Ministers* to the *Crown*.

Thus, on the very second Day of the Session, Mr. *Pulteney* moved, That the sixth and eighth Sections of an Act made in the sixth Year of *Queen Anne's* Reign, intituled,

An Act for the better securing the Trade of this Kingdom by Cruizers and Convoys ; and also the second Section of an Act made in the same Year, intituled, An Act for the Encouragement of the Trade to America, might be read, and the same being read accordingly, he again stood up, and, after shewing the Advantages the Nation had reaped, during the late War, from the Regulations contained in these Sections ; the Advantages the Nation must in every War reap from such Regulations ; and the Prejudice it had suffered from not having these Regulations revived two Years before, when he had brought in a Bill for that Purpose ; he concluded with a Motion, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill *for the more effectual securing and encouraging the Trade of his Majesty's British Subjects in America, and for the Encouragement of Seamen to enter into his Majesty's Service.* Upon which Ocaſion Henry Pelham, Esq; stood up, and acknowledged the Usefulness of what was proposed, but added, the Motion was too early, because such a Bill as, he supposed, was designed, ought to be founded upon a Message from the Crown, and that therefore they ought to wait a few Days, in order to give the Crown an Opportunity to send some Message for that Purpose. Upon this ensued

a long Debate ; but as the Opposers expressed some sort of Indifference, whether the Motion was agreed to or no, upon the Question's being put, it was agreed to without a Division ; and the Bill was afterwards pass'd into a Law.

As the *Spaniards* had not only prohibited all Commerce with us, but even the Importation of *British* Commodities, tho' in neutral Bottoms, our *Ministers* thought it adviseable to play them the same Game ; accordingly, a * Bill was brought in for that

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* Upon this Bill, the Author of *The Annals of Europe* makes the following modest and sensible Remarks.

“ Tho' this Bill passed both Houses of Parliament, without any remarkable Opposition, yet as this may be supposed to have been partly owing to a just Resentment, carried, perhaps, too far ; and as many Gentlemen, of good Sense, disapproved of it, I shall, with the utmost Deference, give some of the Arguments made use of against it. In the first Place, it was said, That as this Nation is a trading Nation, and depends chiefly on foreign Commerce, whatever other Nations may do, we ought not, on our Part, to do any Thing that may interrupt or cramp our Commerce.

“ 2dly, That as our Trade with *Spain* has always been deemed a beneficial Trade to this Nation, and might, by proper Management, be rendered much more beneficial than it has been of late Years, whatever his Catholic Majesty may do, we ought not, on our Part, to do any Thing that may interrupt our Trade with that Kingdom ; for that, notwithstanding the severest Prohibitions on the Part of *Spain*, Methods will be found to introduce many of our Commodities among the People of *Spain*, if we do not second the Views of that Court by some imprudent Steps of our own.

“ 3dly,

Purposes; which, after some Demur, on account of certain Amendments made, and for

“ 3dly, That most of the Goods imported from *Spain*, except their Wines and Fruits, are necessary for working up our ~~own~~ Manufactures, or for sorting Cargoes, and carrying on our Commerce with other Nations; which the Parliament seemed to be sensible of, by inserting in this Bill a Clause, empowering his Majesty to take off the Prohibition by Proclamation, with respect to such *Spanish* Commodities as he should think proper. And even, as to the Wines and Fruits of *Spain*, the Prohibition of them could be of no great Disadvantage to the Crown of *Spain*; because the Revenue of that Crown depends very little either upon the Growth or Exportation of these Commodities; and it would, with respect to both, be a Disadvantage to this Kingdom: With regard to the *Spanish* Wines, if we have not their Wines, we must take an equal Quantity from other Nations at a dearer Rate; and besides, as some sorts of *Spanish* Wines are necessary for brewing up our Wines made here at home, they are of Advantage to the Nation; for tho’ the Wine Brewery here at home be a Loss to the Revenue, it is an Advantage to the Nation in general, by diminishing the Quantity of Wines imported. And with regard to *Spanish* Fruits, their Lemons and Oranges, particularly, are of great Benefit to this Nation, by promoting the Consumption of Punch, and thereby diminishing the Quantity of foreign Wines we have occasion for.

The fourth and last Argument I shall take Notice of was That in this War we ought to have taken all possible Methods for making the *Spaniards* believe, That we have no Quarrel with the People, but only with the Court of *Spain*; and that for this Purpose, his Catholic Majesty’s Prohibition of Commerce should have been answered with a counter Declaration, that we had no Quarrel with the People of *Spain*, and therefore would not prohibit Commerce with them, but on the contrary, would give all possible Encouragement to such of the Subjects of *Spain*, as should run the Risk of trading with any of the Subjects of this Nation; and that as we were forced into this War by the Injustice and Obstinacy of the

for a while insisted upon by the Lords, was pass'd into a Law.

Of the † *Place* and † *Pension* Bills, which came into Play again this Session, there is scarce any need to make Mention, after what we have been told by the ingenious Author of *Faction Detected*: That they were brought in only to be thrown out. In the same Class may be ranged a Bill for securing the Freedom of Parliament, by the farther qualifying the Members to sit and vote in the House of Commons; which took its rise from the same Quarter, and met with the like Fate. Being rejected on the Question, in a summary Way, without even the Ceremonial of a Debate.

The Minority having made a Shift to carry || Two Bills for the better Supply of Mariners and Seamen to serve on board the

the Court of *Spain*, and by that alone, we would avoid as much as possible doing any Injury to the Subjects of *Spain*, farther than was absolutely necessary for compelling their Court to comply with our just Demands.

These were the Arguments made use of by some Gentlemen without Doors, what Weight there was in them, I shall leave to my Readers to judge."

† Rejected by 223 against 207.

† Rejected by the Lords: Upon the Question for the Commitment, content 40, not content 52.

|| *Viz.* One to naturalize foreign Seamen, who should enter into the *English* Service, and One to protect such foreign Seamen from being press'd.

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Fleet, and assist in carrying on our Commerce; those at the Helm thought it behov'd them also to make a Pretence of the present Dearth of those very valuable Men, to make a new Acquisition of Power to the Crown.

Accordingly a * Bill was brought in by Sir Charles Wager, for registering all Seamen, Watermen, Fishermen, Lightermen, Keelmen, Bargemen, and Seafaring Men capable of Service at Sea, throughout his Majesty's Dominions; which having been read once, was ordered to be read a second Time, and to be printed. The Consequence of which was, that many of the Members thinking it of † dangerous Tendency to the
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* See a Copy of it in the *Annals of Europe*, for 1740, p. 62.

† How dangerous may be gather'd from the following Extract of a Speech deliver'd upon that Occasion :

“ It is impossible to hear the Bill read, without being immediately alarmed at an open Attack upon the Liberty of many Thousands, who have, doubtless, the same Claim of Independency with other Britons, a Claim which they have not forfeited by any Crimes, and which, I believe, they value too highly to give up, for any Advantage that can be offered them in Recompence. What Reason can be assigned for placing these Men in a State which every other Briton would disdain? If the Design be to propagate Slavery, and to register one Class of Men after another, let the Sailors, at least, be the last that shall lose their Freedom. Let the first Register be filled with the despicable Names of *Penjoners, Placemen, Syzophants, and Dependants*; but let the brave, the hardy,

Liberties of the People, sent Copies of it to their Constituents, and Petitions were preparing in many Places to have been presented against it, in case the Bill had been pushed

dy, the honest Seaman retain his Liberty, till Luxury and Corruption, with which the Example of those, whom the World calls his Superiors, may in time, infect him, shall prepare him for Slavery.

“ Let us dwell, Sir, a short Time upon the State of a Seaman, registered, as it is intended by this Bill. He must appear whenever he is summoned, at all Hazards, whatever may be the Circumstances of his Family, or the State of his private Affairs, he must, in many Cases, expose himself to the Penalties of the Act, or leave his Family at a Time when his Assistance and Direction are absolutely necessary. He must, if he should by any Misfortune or Negligence, be encumbered with Debt, either fall under the Distresses which the Breach of this Law will bring upon him, or lie at the Mercy of his Creditors, perhaps exasperated by long Disappointments, or by long Practice of Severity hardened in Oppression. Nor, if he should, either by Industry acquire, or receive by Inheritance, an ample Fortune, is he in less Danger from the Bill before us; he may be torn from his Possessions, and forced into Hardships which no Man now undergoes but from the Sense of Fear or Want; so that this Bill equally disables a Sailor from avoiding Distress, or enjoying Prosperity.

“ Such, Sir, give me Leave to repeat it, will be the immediate Consequences with regard to our Sailors, but the Effect of this Bill will reach much farther. That every Discouragement of our Seamen is an Injury to our Merchants, is too plain to require Proof; and, indeed, what Regard has been paid to our Traders, is apparent from that Clause of the Bill that allows Sailors to be taken from our Trading Vessels in *America*. If the unhappy Merchants, engaged in that Branch of our Commerce, a Commerce far more beneficial than all others to the *British* Nation, if these Men, from whose Labours we derive all our Wealth, and that Power,

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pushed; but the Bill being by an express Order read a second Time, and a Motion made for committing it, the Question was, without any considerable Debate, and without a Division, carried in the Negative.

A Proposal was then made for a *Voluntary Register* of Seamen, and several Resolutions were agreed upon by the Committee, as the Heads of a Bill for that Purpose; but when these Resolutions came to be reported, the *Third*, which provided, *That the Fraternity of Trinity House at Deptford, should have the Management of the said Register*, prov'd a Rock, on which all the rest were shipwreck'd; and so this hopeful Project became a Cast-away.

There still remains another very remark-

which is the Consequence of Wealth, have been so unfortunate as to offend their ministerial Superiors, let them be punished with all the Severity due to so enormous an Offence; let their Trade be prohibited, and their Ships confined at Home by a *perpetual Embargo*, but let us not be so cruel as to suffer them to send their Ships to *America*, and then debar them from the Possibility of returning.

"*More need not, in my Opinion, be said to shew how little this Bill deserves our Approbation; if it should become a Law, nothing can be expected, but that all who are now engaged in the Business of Navigation, will leave their Employments, rather than their Liberty. At least, Sir, these Youth, whose Years allow them the Choice of their Profession, will never doom themselves to Slavery; so that by mauling our Navy in this Manner, we shall put an End to our Power and our Commerce.*"

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able Article relating to our Naval Affairs to be treated of; I mean the Petition of the Merchants against the late general and grievous *Embargo's*, which had detain'd Numbers of Ships, some of them laden with perishable Commodities for many Months in the River of *Thames* and elsewhere, &c.

This Petition was presented by Sir *John Barnard*, who likewise mov'd, "That the Petition should be referred to the Consideration of a Committee of the whole House, and that the Petitioners, if they thought fit, should be heard by themselves, before the said Committee: But this being oppos'd, there ensued a long Debate, in which the two principal Arguments, insisted by those that were against the Question were, *Ist*, That the Inconveniencies and Grievances complained of by the Petitioners, were such as could not be avoided at the Beginning of a War; for upon such Occasions, there was always a great Want of Seamen for manning the Navy, which made Embargoes and Pressing necessary, and this must of course be an Inconvenience and an Interruption to our Trade; but this it was impossible to prevent; because the general Safety was the first Thing to be considered in Time of War: Our Well Being was to be consider'd; but our Being was first to be considered:

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Our Well-Being depended upon our Trade; but our very Being, in Time of War, depended upon putting ourselves in a proper Posture of Defence at home; and therefore it was necessary to subject the former to some Inconveniencies, rather than neglect providing for the latter.

24th, It was said, " That no Measures had been taken, nor any Inconveniencies brought upon our Trade in the present War, but what were warranted by the known Prerogatives of the Crown, and authorised by Precedents in the Time of the ablest, the greatest, and the best Ministers; to wit, in the Year 1692 and 1702; and that therefore the Petition then before them was to be looked on as an Encroachment upon the Prerogatives of the Crown; for if the Petitioners imagined they had been exposed to any unnecessary Hardships, they ought to have applied to be heard before his Majesty in Council, who had always shewn himself ready to hear the Complaints of the meanest of his Subjects; but that they had neglected to do this; for tho' they had presented a Petition, much of the same Nature, to the Council, they did not, in that Petition, so much as desire to be heard, either by themselves or Counsel, upon the subject Matter of their Petition.

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To the first it was answered, That even our Being, as well as our Well-Being, depended so much upon the Encouragement and Protection of our Trade, That not only in Time of Peace, but also in Time of War, great Care ought to be taken not to subject it to any Inconvenience or Grievance, but such as it is impossible to avoid: That in Time of War, the Merchants knew their Trade must be exposed to some unavoidable Inconveniences; but these they did not complain of: They complained of our Trade's being subjected to several great Hardships that were either unnecessary, or might have been, in a great Measure, prevented: This the Gentlemen, who argued in favour of the Question, endeavoured to demonstrate, by entering into an Examination of our Conduct since the Beginning of the War: They said, That many Landmen might be taken on board Ships of War, in order to make up their Complement; who, in a few Days, would learn to perform all Services upon Deck, as well as expert Seamen; and, therefore, an Encouragement should have been offered, as soon as we resolved upon Hostilities, for able-bodied Landmen to enter on board his Majesty's Navy, and no Augmentation made of our Land-Forces, till our Navy had been sufficiently

ciently provided: That if this Measure had been taken, no Embargo would have been necessary; but suppose an Embargo had been found necessary, it ought to have been continued upon foreign Ships, as long as upon our own; for to allow foreign Ships to depart, whilst our own were detained in Port, by an Embargo, was giving such an Advantage to foreign Navigation, as must destroy our own. To this it was added, That the new Method introduced, of giving Ships leave to sail, notwithstanding the Embargo, upon Condition of their furnishing a certain Number of Men, was a dangerous Encroachment upon our Constitution; for it was, in effect, raising Money upon the Subject, without Consent of Parliament. Upon former Occasions, when an Embargo was laid on, Licences were granted to particular Ships, on account of the perishable Nature of the Cargo, on account of the Ships going on such a Voyage as must be proceeded on at a particular Season, or on account of some other Peculiarity in the Trade in which she was engaged; but upon the late Embargo, all these Considerations were laid aside, and the single Consideration was, Whether the Merchants concerned, would furnish as many Seamen for the Government's Service, as they desired Protections

reductions for Seamen for their own, which was, in effect, compelling them to pay two or three hundred Pounds for Leave to proceed upon their Voyage; for by our not encouraging Landmen to enter, by refusing many who were willing to enter, and by augmenting our Army, before providing for our Fleet, we had raised the Price of expert Seamen so high, that no Merchant could, at that Time, get a Seaman to engage in His Majesty's Service under a less Premium than ten or twelve Guineas *per Man*.

As to the second Argument it was admitted, "That the Power of laying on an Embargo was a Prerogative of the Crown; but like all other Prerogatives, it was never to be exercised but in Cases of Necessity, and when it was proper for the Purpose designed; neither of which was the Case at present; nor were the two Embargoes mentioned any Precedent for an Embargo upon this Occasion. In 1692 we had certain Accounts of a speedy and formidable Invasion designed from *France*, which did actually put to Sea in less than two Months, after our having heard of its Preparation, and was defeated by the glorious Sea Victory at *La-Hogue*; so that the Embargo at that Time was in a Case of great Necessity, and of a short Duration. In 1702 again, a very proper and

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prudent Resolution was taken to begin the War by a vigorous Attack upon *Spain*, before they could have any long Time to prepare for their Defence; which was accordingly executed very speedily; for the War was declared the 4th of *May*, and the Fleet designed for this Purpose, with a sufficient Number of Land Forces on board, though we had not then such a Number in the Island as we have at present, sailed on the first of *July*; so that the Embargo at that Time was probably designed to prevent the Enemy's hearing of our Preparations, rather than as a Method for the speedier manning of our Navy; and if at either of these Times it was designed for the latter Purpose only, it seemed to have been found ineffectual; for it was never afterwards practised, in all that War; though there Invasion, and a very sudden and unexpected one too, was afterwards designed, and defeated, without putting a Stop to our Trade by an Embargo. For these Reasons, it was said, the Petition was not an Incroachment upon the Prerogatives of the Crown, but a Complaint against an improper and unnecessary Exercise of one of the Prerogatives, which might have been brought to Parliament, without any sort of Application to Council; but the Merchants had not done so: They had

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had first carried their Complaint to the Council; and if, in their Petition, they had not expressly desired to be heard, it was because they thought they would of course be called in to be examined, as to the Grounds of their Complaint; for which Purpose many of them did attend; and some of them expressly told one of the Clerks of the Council, and desired him to inform the Lords of the Council, That the Merchants expected to be called in, to explain more at large the Grounds of their Complaint, and the Methods they thought most proper for redressing their Grievances without injuring the public Service."

But in vain were all these unanswerable Arguments urg'd; the Vial of *Ministerial Wrath* was not yet empty'd; and, for that Reason only, it must be presum'd, the Question pass'd in the Negative.

The Minority, however, had the good Fortune, at last, to frame a Motion, which those in Power had not the Assurance to defeat, *viz.* "That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, as a dutiful Return to his gracious Desire of the Advice of his Parliament at this critical and important Conjunction; and as a further Testimony of our firm Resolution, vigorously to support his Majesty in the Prosecution of the

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War

War against *Spain*, humbly to beseech his Majesty never to admit of any Treaty of Peace with that Crown, *unless* the Acknowledgment of our natural and indubitable Right to navigate in the *American Seas*, to and from any Part of his Majesty's Dominions, without being seized, searched, visited or stopped, under any Pretence whatsoever, shall have been first obtained as a Preliminary thereto."

Upon this Occasion there were several Gentlemen spoke for and against the Conduct of our Negotiators and Ministers; but the Motion itself being acknowledged to be right, by every Gentleman that spoke upon the Subject, it was agreed to *Nemine Contradicente*.

After which, it was communicated to the Lords; who, having signified their Concurrence, it was presented to the King by both Houses, and his Majesty was pleased to return the following most gracious Answer:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I thank you for this dutiful Address, which is so agreeable to former Resolutions of both Houses of Parliament. Your unanimous and vigorous Support in carrying on the War,
will

will be the best Means of procuring safe and honourable Terms of Peace; and you may RELY on My utmost Care and Endeavour, to obtain effectual Security for the just Rights of Navigation and Commerce belonging to my Subjects.

But, according to the Proverb, *One swallow did not make a Summer*; and it soon appear'd, that this Concession to the *Hammour* of the People, was to be no Precedent in any Point of Interest:

For, when a Motion was made by Mr. Sandys, for an Address, containing the Advice of the House, That the Body of Marines, intended to be rais'd, might be rais'd in the *most frugal* manner, and put upon the *least expensive* Establishment, by having as *many private* Men and as *few Officers* as possible, it pass'd in the Negative, Ayes 95, Noes 177.

As did also another * Motion for Copies or Extracts of such Memorials, &c. as have been made to the Court of *Spain*, since the Treaty of *Seville*, relating to Depredations. Yeas 98, Noes 172.

And, likewise, a † Third (without a Division) for Copies or Extracts of all Let-

* Made by Sir William Wyndham. † By Mr. Pulteney.

ters and Instructions from the Secretary's, or Admiralty Offices, to Governors of Plantations, Captains of Men of War, the King's Minister in *Spain*, and Consuls in *Europe*, since the said Treaty of *Seville*.

And yet a † Fourth, for Copies of all Instructions and Letters to Mr. Keene, by his Majesty's Ministers, authorising him to conclude and sign the *Convention*.

Again, when Lord * *Powlett* (who was then in a Capacity of making his eminent Abilities, as eminently serviceable to his Country) had mov'd for an Account of what Ships had been contracted for to be built in Merchants Yards, or bought by the Commissioners of the Navy, for his Majesty's Service, from *Christmas* 1738, to *Christmas* 1739, and by what Authority, distinguishing the Prices of each Ship, and what had been, or was propos'd to be laid out upon any of them, to fit them for the Service for which they were intended. The Majority seem'd to think it an Introsion into the *Ministerial Holy of Holies*, and refus'd to have the Veil remov'd.

Nay, such Confidence was placed in the Power of Numbers, That tho' it was manifest a certain Member had accepted an

† By Mr. E. Waller. * Now Earl of Marchmont.

Office, during Pleasure, of 200 *l.* per. Ann. Value, and consequently seem'd to be within Reach of those disabling Clauses, which render'd his Seat in the House incompatible with his said Office, the contrary was voted by 223 against 132.

And when the same accomplish'd Member (Lord *Polwarth*) who had put the House upon this Scent, requir'd, "That a Committee be appointed to enquire what new Offices, or Places of Profit had been created or erected since the 25th Day of *October*, in the Year of our Lord 1705; and also, whether there were any greater Number of Commissioners made or constituted for the Execution of any Office, since that Time, than had been before employed in the Execution of such respective Office;" his honest Zeal was check'd with another Negative of 196 to 154.

Posterity will, perhaps, be amaz'd to find we are not yet come to the End of this dirty Road—but so it is; and we are still to go thro' two or three Plunges more.

Another Attack was made on the *Convention* by the great Mr. *Pulteney*, who, on the Authority of former Precedents, mov'd for all the Powers, Instructions, Memorials, Letters and Papers relating thereto; upon which Occasion it was urg'd, "That when

any public Measure occasion'd a general Discontent to arise among the People, it was the Duty of that House to enquire into the Cause of the People's Discontent, and to give them Satisfaction, which that House would always be able to do by a strict and impartial Enquiry; because no public Measure could raise a general Discontent, unless it was either very wrong in itself, or very artfully and maliciously misrepresented to the People. If the Measure was wrong in itself, that House, by a strict Enquiry, would be able to discover the Authors and Advisors of it, and their being brought to condign Punishment would give Satisfaction to the People. On the other hand, if a Measure, right in itself, had been artfully and maliciously misrepresented to the People, That House would always have it in their Power, by a strict Enquiry, to set the Affair in a true Light to the People, to rectify the false Notions and Prejudices that had been artfully instilled into them, and to detect and punish the Authors of those malicious Misrepresentations. To enquire into any public Measure that had raised Murmurs and Discontents among the People, was therefore a Duty they owed not only to their Country, but their Sovereign. If the People had been misled by seditious Defamers of

of the Government, it was the Duty of that House to set them right, in order to prevent their being blindly led into Tumults or Insurrections. If the King had been misled by wicked or weak Counsellors, it was the Duty of that House to enquire into the Affair, in order to remove the Resentment of People from the Throne, and to direct it where it ought always to be directed, against those that had imposed upon or misled their Sovereign.

This being the Case, it was from thence apparent, That they ought to enquire into the Affair of the late *Convention with Spain*, because no public Measure had ever occasioned a more general Discontent in this Nation; and as they could not enquire into that Affair without having the Papers then moved for, before them, they ought to agree to the Motion. If the late *Convention* was a Right Measure, if it was such a Treaty as could any way be justified, the Ministers would promote a strict and impartial Enquiry into it, in order to remove from themselves the Scandal of having negotiated and agreed to one of the most dishonourable and destructive Treaties that ever *England* was led into, which was then the general Opinion the People had of it; and in order to have those Men punished, that had

so

so falsely and maliciously aspersed their Conduct; But if it were really such a Treaty as it was then generally believed to be, that House was, in Duty to their Sovereign, obliged to enquire into it, in order to remove the Scandal from the Throne; and in Duty to their Country, in order not only to punish those who had misled the King, but to do what was of much more Consequence to the Country, to prevent their having any Thing farther to do in the Administration of our public Affairs.

“ On the other Side, the principal Argument made use of, was the usual one, of its being dangerous and inconsistent with the public Safety, to have the Papers moved for, laid before so numerous an Assembly, because it would discover all the Secrets of our Government to our Enemies; and, more over, it was said, That a Clamour, artfully raised among a few People, was not to be called a general Discontent, and therefore was not a sufficient Cause for taking up the Time of that House, and diverting the Attention of our Ministers from the public Affairs of the Nation in the Time of a dangerous War, by setting up a Parliamentary Enquiry into their former Conduct; which was the Reason that no such Enquiry was ever set on Foot into any public Measure,

Measure, but such as was supposed to be wrong by a Majority of the Members then present : That a public Measure, which had been approved by one Parliament, might, perhaps, be enquired into, and condemned by another, because different Parliaments were very often of different Complexions; but as the *Convention* had been approved of by that House, it would look very odd; and would be inconsistent with the Character of that august Assembly, to set on Foot an Enquiry, in a subsequent Session, into a Treaty that had been approved of in the very next preceding Session of the same Parliament.

“ To this it was replied, That supposing the Papers moved for, contained Secrets of the utmost Importance to the public Safety; yet there was no Danger in having them laid before a select and secret Committee of that House; for if the contrary should be admitted as a general Maxim, it would render it impossible for that House ever to enquire into the Conduct of any Minister whatever : That the Precedent, which had been read to them, shewed, That no such Maxim had ever been admitted; and as the Design, upon this Occasion, was to follow that Precedent, therefore the Danger of discovering the Secrets of our Government to our

our Enemies, could be no Objection to the Motion then before them; because, as soon as the Papers proposed to be addressed for, should be laid before them, a Motion would be made, for referring those Papers to a Committee of Secrecy, and that Committee would certainly take Care not to report to the House any Secrets, which, by being discovered, might be of dangerous Consequence to the public Safety: That the many Petitions which had been presented against the *Convention*, was a full Proof, that the Clamour against it, was not a Clamour artfully raised among a few People, but such a one as shewed a general Discontent; and, therefore, such a one as made it the Duty of that House to enquire into a Measure which had been so generally complained of; especially as that Treaty had failed of producing the Effect which its Friends so strongly asserted it would. That it was wrong to say, the Treaty had been approved of by that House: So far otherwise, that nothing prevented its being censured when it was first laid before them, but the Hopes so confidently given, That as it was but a Preliminary, it would certainly, and very soon, produce a safe and honourable Peace; whereas it then appeared, That this Preliminary had certainly, and very soon, pro-

produced a dangerous and expensive War. The Convention therefore was not approved of by Parliament, and it had since been condemned not only by the whole Nation, but by the King himself, and even by those very Ministers that had concluded it; for the very Principles of the War was to consider our Right, *not to be searched*, as an indubitable Claim, that would not admit of any Discussion; whereas the Principle upon which the Convention was built, as well as all the Negotiations that preceded it, was to consider this Claim, as a Claim that required to be discussed, and to be regulated.

The more Light is admitted, the closer some People shut their Eyes; we are not, therefore, to wonder, that even this Debate ended like the rest, in a Negative, I think, without a Division.

But tho' these unfortunate Patriots of ours could not detect what was wrong, they made a Shift to reflect a Beam of Honour upon what was right. Intelligence having, by this Time, been received of Admiral *Vernon's* * gallant and successful Enterprize at *Porto-Bello*, an Address of Congratulation

* For which, in one of his Letters, he thought himself obliged, it seems, to make a kind of Excuse, by urging, *That he hoped it might be understood to be within the Meaning of his Instructions.*

was

was carry'd in the Lords House, and sent down to the Commons for their Concurrence, which, for this once, was not only obtained, but with the glorious Specification, That the Admiral had perform'd this signal Exploit † with *Six Ships of War only*, by way of ‡ Amendment.

This Triumph, however, was very short, and we shall soon have Cause to see, that this little Success was rather a Surprise than a Victory.

A Motion was some Days after made by *Alexander Hume Campbell, Esq;* 'That the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, do lay before this House, a List of such of his Majesty's Ships of War, as have been employed as Cruizers, for the Protection of the Trade of this Kingdom on this side *Cape Finisterre*, since the 20th of July last, distinguishing the Time each Ship was order'd to remain, and the Time such Ship did actually remain on such Cruise, together with the Reasons of her returning to any Port of this Kingdom.'

This Motion being opposed, it occasioned

† The Admiral had formerly undertaken, in the House, to make himself Master of that Port with *Six Ships only*.

‡ On a Division of 36 to 31; at the Head of which Minority was Sir *Robert Walpole*.

a long Debate; in which the chief Argument made use of for the Motion was, That as that House, by our Constitution, was the grand Inquest of the Nation, they had a Right to enquire into the Management of Public Affairs; and it was their Duty to exercise that Right as often as any reasonable Ground of Suspicion appeared. In support of this Argument it was said, That frequent Enquiries had been made, during the War, both in King *William* and Queen *Anne's* Time; and that no Motion for that Purpose had been ever refused: That in former Times parliamentary Enquiries into the Conduct of our Ministers, were very frequent, and but seldom refused, even when insisted on but by a very few Members of that House; because, in those Days, the Friends of the Minister knew, that there was a very great Difference between an Enquiry and a Censure; but to such Gentlemen, of late Years, every Enquiry appeared hideous; they seemed now to confound the two Terms, and to suppose, that Enquiry and Censure were synonymous Words; or, at least, that a Parliamentary Censure would be the certain Consequence of a Parliamentary Enquiry, which was no great Compliment to the Conduct of the Minister whose Power they seemed so zealous to support.

As

As this Argument led Gentlemen to examine the Conduct of the Administration, and the various Events of the War, in order to shew that there was some reasonable Ground to suspect Mismanagement in our Public Affairs, they complained, That as we had been for so many Years in profound Peace, tho' seldom or never in profound Quiet, it was easy to foresee, that there would be a great want of Seamen at the Breaking-out of the War ; therefore, they should have endeavoured to supply this Want, by putting some of our Foot Soldiers as Marines on board our Ships of War, and by giving great Encouragement to Landmen to enter into the Sea Service ; but instead of this, no one Soldier was put on board any of our Men of War, no proper Encouragement offered for Landmen to enter into his Majesty's Service, even many of those that might have been had without any *Premium* were refused, and Methods were taken for supplying the Navy with expert Seamen, which greatly distressed our Trade, and which, nothing but the utmost Necessity could justify. An Embargo was laid on, and a hot Press begun, and continued with such Severity, that no Merchant-Ship was allowed a Protection for her Men, unless she furnished one Man for the King's Service,

vice, for every four Men the desired to be protected for her own Service; which was really laying a Tax, without Authority of Parliament, upon the Merchants of this Kingdom; because they could not procure a Man for the King's Service, without a *Premium*, or Bounty-Money; which, by the long Continuance of the Press, had arisen from *Forty Shillings* to *Ten Guineas per Man*. This Tax, they said, was to the full as illegal as the Tax called *Ship-Money*, which raised such a Combustion in King *Charles the First's* Reign, and was much more unjust; because this new sort of Tax was raised upon the Merchants in particular, whereas the other was propos'd to have been rais'd upon the whole Nation in general: But this was not the only Grievance; for, when a Merchant Ship, outward-bound, had procured her Quota of Men, these Men were refused by the Regulating Captains, as not being fit for the King's Service, and yet Protections were denied, even for those very Men that had been so tendered and refused; which look'd as if a Man, when pressed, might be deemed fit for the King's Service, tho' he could not be deemed so when voluntarily offer'd; and for this, no Reason could be assigned; but that an Officer of a Press-Gang had a Perquisite of *eight or ten*

X. x *Shillings*

Shillings for every Man he pressed, whereas he got nothing by those that voluntarily entered.

They farther complained, That there had been great Neglect in appointing both Cruizers and Convoys, especially the former: That, in consequence of this, great Numbers of our Merchant-ships had been taken, and of them, no less than five had been lately taken in our own Channel, which was not only a great Indignity, but a certain Proof, that there had been a Neglect either in appointing Cruizers, or in the Cruizers that were appointed, but they believed it to be part of both; for, so far as they could learn, there had not been a sufficient Number appointed, nor those that were appointed, properly stationed; and, what was still worse, no one of them seemed to have been diligent in their Duty, except Capt. *Cleland* alone, because they had not heard of so much as one Privateer's being taken or destroyed but by that Gentleman, who had but just left the Merchant's Service, and returned to the Service of the Navy; and, therefore, it were to be wished, that most of the Gentlemen of the Navy would, in time of Peace, employ themselves in the Merchants Service, because it would make them acquainted with the Mer-

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Merchants, and consequently more sensible of the Dangers their Ships are exposed to in time of War: That as to our Cruizers in general, it was well known, that many of them loitered away one half of their appointed Time in Port, where they should never come but in case of Necessity; for, if they were out at Sea during the whole Time of their Cruize, they would be more in the Way of intercepting the Enemy's Privateers, and of being a Refuge to our Merchant Ships, in case of their being attacked at Sea; and yet no Example had been heard of since the War began, of a Captain's being so much as reprimanded for returning to, or staying in Port, without a Necessity for so doing.

To all these Facts and Arguments, the *Minister* and his *Satellites* put in the best Answer they could, consisting, as usual, of daring Assertions and plausible Fallacies; which, in the Reply, were again reduced to their primitive Nothingness; but to no Purpose; for the Question being then put, all the Advantages which had been gain'd by Reason, were lost by * Numbers.

Our *Patriots*, however, return'd once more to the Charge; and Mr. *Hume Camp-*

* Yeas 97, Noes 145.

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bell,

676 *A Detection of the*

bell, three Days after, made another dextrous Motion in the following Terms:

“ That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, humbly to beseech his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give Directions, that, over and above the Ships of War he shall think proper to employ against the Enemy, *a sufficient* Number of his Majesty's Ships may be appointed, to cruize in proper Stations, for the effectual Security and Protection of the Trade of his Majesty's Subjects.”

But our great and able *Minister* being alike aware of the Insinuation, and the Unpopularity of rejecting it entirely, had the Address, to get rid of both Difficulties, by proposing, in the way of Amendment, to leave out the Words, *a sufficient*, to put in their stead, *such a*; and at the End of the Motion, to add these Words, *as shall be consistent with the Defence and Protection of his Majesty's Dominions, and the safe conveying the Trading Ships of this Nation to and from foreign Parts*. Which being agreed to, an Address was order'd, and presented accordingly; and his Majesty was advis'd to return the following Answer: “ ALL POSSIBLE CARE has been taken in carrying on the War against Spain in the most PROPER and EFFECTUAL Manner, and at the same time for protecting

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teſting the Trade of my Subjects; and you may be aſſured, That the SAME CARE ſhall be continued."

The *Patriots* having now done their *worſt*, and the *Minifter* his *beſt*, it was thought adviſeable to cloſe the *Session*, which was accordingly done * *April* 29; upon which Occaſion his *Majeſty* deliver'd a moſt gracious *Speech*, in which are to be found the following *Expreſſions*:

"As this great and NATIONAL Undertaking is the PRINCIPAL Object of our Attention and Expectations; ſo the Juſtice of our Cauſe, and the Succeſs which has hitherto attended my Arms, give us the moſt reaſonable Hopes, that, by the Continuance of the Divine Aſſiſtance, we may ſee a happy Iſſue of it.

"I have formerly recommended to you Union amongſt yourſelves, as being highly conducive to the carrying on this great Work with Honour and Advantage, and to the more ſpeedy obtaining of all poſſible Juſtice and Satisfaction from the Crown of Spain, for the many grievous Injuries ſuffered by my Subjects, and effectual Security for the Freedom of our Commerce and Navigation for the future. I do now earneſtly exhort you to promote and extend that Union in your reſpective Countries. Let

* About this Time the Duke of *Argyle* was deprived of all his Places.

the Support of the common Cause of the Nation prevail, to attain this desirable End. Our Enemies must already have been made sensible, in some Degree, of the Weight of our just Resentment. They see my Kingdoms in such a Posture of Defence, as must render all Attempts from them, without Encouragement from amongst our selves, vain and desperate: They see the Trade and Navigation of my Subjects protected, as far as the Nature and Circumstance of a Maritime War will possibly admit; and, at the same time, the most valuable Branches of the Spanish Commerce greatly interrupted, and subjected to many Difficulties and Losses. From these happy Effects of my early Endeavours, and your ready Concurrence, at the first Entrance into the War, I cannot but hope, that the Preparations, which I am now making for carrying it on in the most proper Places, and in the most vigorous and effectual Manner, will be blessed with Success, equal to our just Expectations."

It is somewhat remarkable, that the Repeal of the Clause in the *Act of Settlement*, which provided, That no King or Queen of England, should quit the Realm without Consent of Parliament, had so far weaken'd the Claims of the People upon that Head, that his Majesty, in this Speech, did not so much as mention his Design to visit his
German

German Dominions this Summer ; and yet, in less than a Fortnight after, it was his *Royal Pleasure* to set out upon that Expedition from St. James's, leaving the Public to the Care of a Regency, supported by three Bodies of Troops, encamped at *Hounslow*, *Windsor Forest*, and *Newbury*; to say nothing of the Guards in and about *London* and *Westminster*.

Having already seen the Government arm'd at all Points, by the unbounded Generosity of the People, let us see how the *great and national Undertaking* we were engag'd in, was made the *principal Object* of the *Attention* of the *Government*.

It hath been already mention'd, That from the Moment our *Minister* foresaw that the *Convention* would not answer his Purpose, Admiral *Haddock* was order'd to continue with his Squadron at *Gibraltar*. The *Spaniards* were as yet weak and defenceless in the *West-Indies*, where it was always understood our most vigorous Efforts were to be made. Even so late as *Dec. 1739*, we had taken up Transports, as if to be instantly employ'd in some Expedition to those Parts, together with the Marines which were then raising. The Enemy, therefore, could not help being in Pain for the Event ; they had a pretty strong Squadron in *Cadiz*, and were making
X x 4 the

the best Preparations they could for their own Defence; but while *Haddock* was in sight, neither these Preparations, nor that Squadron, could be of any Use: *Haddock*, however, at last, withdraws, with some few of his Ships, which, as it is intimated in a Letter of *Sir Chaloner Ogle* to the Duke of *N.* dated March 7, 1739+40, wanted refitting, to *Mabone*; but leaves *Sir Chaloner*, with the rest of the Fleet, to have an Bye upon *Cadix*: While Things were in this Situation, the Government receives * Intelligence of a Design against *Mabone*; upon which Orders were dispatch'd to the Admiral to quit his former Post, and sail ~~thither forth~~ with. These Orders fell into the Hands of

* Which was contained in two Papers, as follows, viz. Letters from *Barcelona* the 16th of January advise, That Orders were given there to transport 60 Pieces of Cannon to *Majorca*; that they had taken up four Vessels to carry Part of them; that Orders were given for 28 Battalions to hold themselves in Readiness to embark the first Opportunity. The next Paper is without Date or Place mentioned, and says, It is very probable, that Orders have been given to hire, and take up Transport Ships, since the General Officers, who are named to command the Troops designed for *Majorca*, have received Orders to repair immediately to *Barcelona*.

In a Letter from the Secretary of State to Admiral *Haddock*, dated April 4, 1740, there is the following Paragraph:

* Nothing is to be apprehended from the Naval Power of Spain, Monsieur *De Bene* having no more than four or five Ships at *Carthagena*.

Sir Chaloner Ogle, as the commanding Officer in the Absence of the Admiral, who thought it his Duty to join him at Mahone, with the rest of the Squadron, that he might not be in want of Ships in a Capacity of performing the Service directed.

This was the favourable Opportunity the Spaniards waited for. Accordingly, before the End of March, their Fleet, which had so long been coop'd up within the Port of Cadiz, ventur'd to put to Sea, and made a Shift to get safe into Ferrol.

On the Receipt of this News, our Ministers seem'd to be in a Panic; they dispatched Orders, dated April 18, to Haddock, to send Ogle, or any other, with Ten Ships to the West Indies, if the Spanish Squadron had taken that Course; or if to Ferrol or England, to follow them as fast as possible: And, having before this, viz. April 2, order'd Balchen to go immediately with the few Ships that were ready, and prevent the Spanish Squadron at Ferrol from going to Cadiz or the West Indies; on the said 18th, they sent Orders to the same Admiral, signifying, That if he found the Ferrol Squadron gone to the West Indies, and no Embarkations making for England, then to return Home: And yet, on April 24, they order'd ten Ships of the Line to be fitted out with the utmost Expedition for the West Indies: But, after all,
no

no sooner was it certainly known here, that the *Cadiz* Squadron was safe at *Ferrol*, but both *Balchen* and *Ogle* were order'd Home. All was calm, and it was suppos'd, That *Norris*, with the vast and mighty * Squadron under his Command, tho' not permitted to go out of the Channel, or to protect our Trade in it, would at least defend us at Home, which is all that was required at his Hands; unless it was any Part of his Instructions to entertain his Highness the Duke, who was on board as a Volunteer, with the *Glamours of the Navy*.

It is necessary to take some Notice of the Conduct of *France* here, and what was to be expected from thence at this Crisis: They had been for some time preparing to put to Sea a considerable Fleet from *Toulon* and *Brest*; the Advices of it were strong and frequent; it likewise was foreseen by Admiral *Vernon*, and our Colonies; the last of which more particularly mentions it, and enters into such a *Détail*, as tends to prove, that it was easy to foresee their Designs were for the *West Indies*; which appears by the

* It consisted of between 20 to 30 of the largest Ships in the Navy, and had afterwards the Honour to be numbered among the Cruizers appointed for the Security of our Trade, in a List laid before the House of Commons.

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Letter from the Secretary of State to the Lords of the Admiralty, dated the 24th of April 1740, with the *Barbadoes* Petition inclosed; in which they set forth, That the *French* were buying up great Quantities of Beef in *Martinico*, and that they were likewise buying up great Quantities of Beef, for their Fleet at *Brest*, in *Ireland*, and therefore desire Ships for the Protection of that Island; because of the Danger there would be, if any Fleet went against it. The Answer of their Lordships to it was founded on great Fortsight and Penetration; for it signifies, That this Petition was in the Supposition of a War breaking out with France, which did not appear to them. In this very Month too, the Declarations of the King of Great Britain, and the King of Prussia, were published, which showed it to be a War.

And what they were, may be collected from the following Paper, or rather Manifesto, which was publish'd at *Paris* about the Time that it was suppos'd, that the *French* Fleet was sent to the *West-Indies*. Since the Departure of the *Brest* and *Toulon* Squadrons so many different Reports have been spread, especially in *England*, concerning the Motives which determin'd that Resolution; and concerning the Intentions of the King in the present Circumstances, that it has appeared necessary to enable the Ministers of his Majesty, in foreign Courts, clearly to make known the Principles of the Conduct which he has hitherto observed, and the End which he proposes.

“It was not without much Pain, that the King saw, in 1738, the Seeds of Discord arising between *Spain* and *England*: The Opening of the Conferences at *Madrid*, gave some Hopes of an Accommodation; but the unforeseen Rupture of those

of *France* to our Court, after the Taking of *Porto Bello*, were so very plain and explicate, in respect to the limiting our Operations of War in the *West-Indies*; and the Tendency of

those Conferences made it be suspected, that *England* was very far from really entertaining pacific Sentiments; and the Hostilities that the *English Nation* began in *America*, before the Declaration of War could be known there, left room no longer to doubt of its Intentions.

“ The King, however, thought proper to see what would be the Consequences of this War, before he took any Part in it; the Views of the *English Nation* were not yet fully manifest: It was believed, that the Warmth of some Tempers had hurried it into the taking of violent Measures; that it had no other Design at the Bottom, than to do itself Justice for some pretended Vexations of the *Spanish* Guarda-Costas; and that after this first Ferment had subsided, both Sides would have fallen upon the Means of Reconciliation.

“ Not but that *France* had, on her own Part, great Causes of Complaint against *England*, perhaps more considerable than those which had kindled the War between the Catholic King and the King of *Great-Britain*: Many *French* Ships had been stopt, visited, and searched, as well in *Europe* as in *America*; the Letters which these Ships had on board, taken and carried away, against the Law of Nations, and the Faith of Treaties, and other Violences still more remarkable, whereof Complaints have been in vain made, might have been sufficient to have excited the King to do himself Justice; but his Majesty has connived at all these Infractions; not having been at all inclined even to permit *French* Privateers to help, in any sort, to disturb the *English* Navigation: Still more important Subjects were necessary to overcome the Moderation of his Majesty.

“ The *English* had hitherto only made War by Sea, but they soon formed Enterprizes upon the Continent. The taking of *Porto Bello* was followed by that of *Chagra*. The Demolition of these two Forts opened a Door to their counterband

of their Preparations in *France* was so visible and certain, that it is with the utmost Astonishment, we see the Administration so self-contented and quiet, from a thorough Per-

terband Trade, to the Prejudice of the Commerce of all Nations; and their Armaments encreased to such a Degree, as to give the most sensible Disquietudes about what might be the Consequence thereof.

“ Since that Time, the Ambassador from *Great Britain* was told, in the Name of the King, that, how patient soever *France* had shewed herself in her Expectation of Satisfaction for the irregular and violent Proceedings of several *English* Officers, it was not to be imagined that she could look with an indifferent Eye upon the Enterprizes that the *English* Nation might form in *America*; nor that the King would suffer it to make any Settlement in the *Spanish West-Indies*. This Declaration was made known to all the foreign Ministers who reside at the Court of *France*; and was renewed as soon as it was perceived, that the Preparations against *America* more evidently discovered Projects of Conquest: And the Ambassador of *Great Britain* not giving any Answer upon a Subject so interesting, the King judged he ought no longer to defer causing his Ships to be equipped, in order to put himself in a Condition to prevent a Danger, which became every Day more than other pressing.

“ *England*, at length, makes no longer a Mystery of her Intentions, after she thought her Measures so effectually taken as to be impossible to be therein defeated. She caused 8000 Regular Troops to embark, in order to join those which she had ordered to be raised in her Colonies. The Nation, not in the least doubting of Success, foretold, as a Thing certain, the Conquest of the *Havanna*. Admiral *Vernon* formally declared, by his Letter of the 8th of May last, to the Governor of the *French* Part of the Island of *St. Domingo*, that he had Orders to take *Carthagena*; and the Manifesto sent to Lord *Cathcart* to be publish'd in *America*; which no Pains were taken

Persuasion, that *France* would not go to War with us on this Account; that therefore all was safe, and that their Menaces and expensive Preparations, both in *Europe* and

taken to keep *private*, has evidently demonstrated the Tendency of these prodigious Armaments, of which there never was the like seen.

“ It was then that the King knew he had not a Moment to lose, in order to obstruct Projects; the Execution whereof would destroy all the Treaties and Conventions which have been made, as well at the Congress at *Utrecht*, as since the Conclusion thereof, for the Balance of the Commerce of *Europe*. His Majesty had nothing else in view, than the Maintaining of these Conventions. The Orders which he has given to the Marquis d’*Antin* tend solely to this End, his Majesty having very expressly enjoined him not to interrupt the lawful Commerce of the *English* Merchants, and to make known to all the Commanders and Governors of the *French* Colonies, that such are the Intentions of his Majesty, and that they must exactly conform thereto.

“ There have, in the mean time, some Precautions been taken on the Part of his Majesty at *Port de l’Orient*, and at *Dunkirk*, to prevent any Surprise from *English* Pirates; the Insults that our Ships have undergone, even in the Time of the strictest Impartiality of *France*, render at this Time these Precautions still more necessary.

“ Such is, according to the most exact Truth, the Conduct which has been hitherto observed on the Part of the King, contrary to which nothing can be alledged. The Court of *London* has, nevertheless, manifested the sharpest Resentment to the Works pretended to be carried on at *Dunkirk*, as tho’ *France* had failed in the solemn Engagements which she entered into at the Treaty of *Utrecht*.

“ It’s easy to judge, after what has been suggested, on which side has been the Infraction of Treaties, whether on the Part of *France*, which has contented herself with establishing four Batteries at *Dunkirk*, without raising any Fortifications;

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and *America*, would evaporate in Smoke, like our own. It does not seem to have once entered into their Heads, till the *French* Fleet sailed, that it was possible for them ever to go there; tho' they knew the *French* had been making Preparations for it; that it was the only Place in which they could effectually limit our Operations; the only Thing left them to do; and what our Ministers could alone suspect they would do; since they were so entirely convinced, that *France* would not enter into an immediate War with us: And yet, tho' they knew in *April*, that the *French* were buying up Provisions in *Ireland*, they never laid an Embargo on them there, till the *French* Squadrons had been sailed about two Months to the *West Indies*.

The Orders given at home (and nothing else was done but giving Orders) to *Norris* and *Balchen*, and others, are nothing but one continued Heap of Uncertainty and Irresolution, varying without any seeming Cause or Design; for as it never seems

fications, nor making any sort of Works, declaring at the same time, that these Batteries would be destroyed as soon as Tranquillity should be established; or on the side of the Court of *London*, which no longer conceals the Project that it has formed, of invading, with open Force, the whole Commerce of the New World."

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to have entered into our Ministers Heads, that the *French* could sail to the *West-Indies*, so likewise, they never dream'd that it was possible for the *Spaniards* to escape a second Time, and sail thither from *Peru*. All Hopes seem to have been placed on our mighty Fleet, some how or somewhere, that it would prevent, either the whole, or any Part of these separate Fleets sailing to the *West-Indies*. It is reckon'd the *French* Squadron sailed the End of *July*, and the *French* Squadron about the 11th of *August*. When, therefore, this is consider'd, and that Intelligence might and must have been received from *France*, of what was passing there; one can scarce even now forbear laughing, to see the whole Month of *August* filled up with a Parcel of Orders for embarking sometimes one Regiment, sometimes two, on board the Squadron with *Balcén*, and then again the same, backwards and forwards, on board the Fleet with *Norris*; till at last, on the 26th. of *August*, they ordered one Regiment to *Balcén*, and on the 29th one to *Norris*; soon after which, they acknowledge to have received Advice of the Sailing of both Fleets.

Strange and unaccountable as that Summer's Conduct appears, it is impossible to solve it, without being convinced that our Mini-

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Ministers, and all they employ'd in their Naval Affairs, were possess'd by the same Spirit; and were firmly persuaded, that *France* could not hurt us, or was capable of having any other Views than the Junction of their two Fleets; which, it might be hoped, would be prevented by Sir *John Narvis*, if he could fail: And yet, even this could not be supposed, by any other Set of Men, without seeing that, in such a Case, *France* was ready, and must soon break with us. Yet it is plain, That This did not admit, in some material Instances, of any such Supposition amongst them; no more than the Possibility of changing the Seat of War from the Seas of *Europe*, to those of *America*; and a strong and unanswerable Evidence of this Prepossession appears by their Conduct, in sending the Convoy and Transports to Admiral *Vernon*; who was acquainted, by the Letter of the 4th of *July*, from the Secretary of State, That the Convoy with the Transports, would be, one 70, and three 60 Gun Ships: The 24th of *July*, which was after the *Spaniards* were sailed from *Ferrol*, the said Convoy was to be, one Third Rate, five Fourth Rates, and one sixth Rate; and the Transports would have actually gone with this small Convoy, had the Winds permitted; the Troops being all embarked the

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4th of *August*; which had they done, they might, in all Probability, have been destroyed by the superior Power of the Enemy.

Did not these Facts appear upon their own Papers, it would scarce be credited. That only Seven Men of War should then be sent to the Assistance of Admiral *Vernon*, and for a Convoy of this Importance; and yet we see, by those very Papers, that, upon Suspicion of but one Part of the *Spanish* Fleet having sailed but a few Months before to the *West-Indies*, 20 Men of War were to be sent after them, as necessary to reinforce *Vernon*.

Upon the Whole, let it be for ever remembered, That the *French* and *Spanish* Squadrons, consisting of near 30 Men of War, arrived at *Martinico*, in the beginning of *October*; and that our Forces, under the Command of Lord *Catbcart*, and the Convoy of *Ogle*, who had been employ'd in the Channel Service * with *Norris* all the Summer, did not sail from *St. Hellens* till the 26th of the same Month; so that it is little less than a Miracle, that all our *Sugar Islands* did not become a Prey to the Enemy.

* Who returned to *Portsmouth*, September 8.

Towards the End of this Summer, likewise, viz. September 18, Commodore *Hyde*, with one Ship of 60 Guns, two of 50, one of 40, a Sloop, and some Store-Ships, all with their full Complement of Men, and some Land Forces, set out in quest of Adventures on the *Soloth Sea*, with what Success is already known; with what Views may be worth Enquiry.

But the great Event of this Year, was the * Death of the *Emperor*, which happened in his Palace, called the *Ravorita*, October the 18th. At six the same Morning, his eldest Daughter, the Consort of the Great Duke of *Tuscany*, was proclaimed Queen of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, &c. But the Elector of *Bavaria* immediately put in his Protest, and what was much more surprising, the King of *Prussia* laid Claim to *Silesia*; that, as afterwards appeared, on such Conditions as the Queen, in her then precarious

* See a Series of our foreign Affairs, from this Period in the Defence of the People.

+ *Viz.* In the King of *Prussia's Instructions to the Baron de Borck :*

1. ' I am ready, with all my Forces, to guaranty all the Dominions possessed by the House of *Austria* in *Germany*, against all Invaders.

2. ' For this End I will enter into a strict Alliance with the Courts of *Vienna*, *Russia*, and the Maritime Powers.

3. ' I

carious Circumstances, ought in Policy to have accepted of.

While *Europe* was in this Situation, his Majesty landed at *Margate*, in his Return from *Hanover*, October 13, and the 18th of November

3. ' I will use all my Interest to preserve the *Dignity* for the Duke of *Lorrain*, and to support his Election against all Opposers, and I dare believe I shall succeed.

4. ' To put the Court of *Vienne* into a good State of Defence, I will immediately furnish it with *Two Millions of Florins*.

' You will naturally imagine, That for such important Services upon such hard Terms, I ought surely to expect a proper Security for indemnifying me from all the Hazards I may expose myself to in the Affair I willingly embark.

In short, what I want is the entire and absolute Cession of all *Silesia*, not only as my Right, but as my Reward for the Toils and Hazards which I may incur, in the Career that I am enter'd upon, for the Safety and Glory of the House of *Austria*.

' His *Prussian* Majesty's Second Dispatch was to the Count de *Götter*, and dated *December*.

' By your Account, dated the 26th instant, put into my Hands by *Kirchbysen*, I have heard how you have been treated by the Duke of *Lorrain*, and in what Language he has been pleas'd to answer your Proposals. Though the said Answer is so sharp and passionate, that it seems to set off all Means of an Accommodation, yet you are to leave no Stone unturned to induce that Prince to look with less Prejudice upon the Plan and Views I have propos'd to myself, which really tend to nothing but the Welfare and Security of the Duke and the House of *Austria*; who may depend on the utmost Assistance that I can give them, if they will but satisfy my just Pretensions to *Silesia*.

' You may even give the Duke of *Lorrain* to understand, that though I have demand'd the entire Cession of this Province, I may, perhaps, make some Abatement, and content myself with a Part of that Country; provided the Queen

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November following, open'd the seventh and last Session of the then Parliament, with a gracious Speech to both Houses, wherein, he first takes Notice, that all Things necessary for the *desired Expedition*, had long been in Readiness, and waited only for an *Opportunity to pursue the intended Voyage*; and, afterwards proceeds, as follows,

“ The several Incidents, which have happened in the meantime, have had no Effect upon me, but to confirm me in my Resolutions, and to determine me to add Strength to my Armaments, rather than to divert or deter me from those just and vigorous Measures, which I am pursuing, for maintaining the Honour of my Crown, and the undoubted Rights of my People.

“ The Court of *Spain*, having already felt some Effects of our Resentment, began to be sensible, that they should be no longer able, *alone*, to defend themselves against the Efforts of the *British* Nation. And, if *any other Power*, agreeably to some late ex-

of *Hungary* will be pleased to enter into a reasonable and sincere Accommodation with me, and to contract strict Engagements that may consist with our mutual Interests.

The King also authorised the Count de Gortor to declare, by Word of Mouth, That his *Prussian* Majesty will be very ready to embrace every Opportunity for assisting the Queen of *Hungary* to maintain the Grandeur of her Family, and to make her Amends for the Loss she may sustain upon this Occasion.

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traordinary Proceedings, should *interpose*, and attempt to *prescribe* or *limit* the Operations of the War against my declared Enemies, the Honour and Interest of my Crown and Kingdoms must call upon us to lose no Time in putting ourselves into such a Condition, as may enable us to repel any Insults, and to frustrate any Designs formed against us, in *Violation of the Faith of Treaties*: And I hope, any such unprecedented Steps, under what Colour or Pretence soever they may be taken, will inspire my *Allies* with a true Sense of the *common Danger*, and will unite us in the Support and Defence of the common Cause.

“ The great and unhappy Event, of the Death of the late Emperor, opens a new Scene in the Affairs of *Europe*, in which all the principal Powers may be *immediately*, or *consequently*, concerned. It is impossible to determine what Turn the Policy, Interest, or Ambition of the several Courts may lead them to take in this critical Conjunction. It shall be my Care, strictly to observe and attend to their Motions, and to adhere to the Engagements I am under, in order to the Maintaining of the *Balance of Power*, and the Liberties of *Europe*; and, in CONCERT with *such Powers* as are under the *same Obligations*, or EQUALLY CONCERNED, to preserve the

the public Safety and Tranquillity, to act such a Part as may best contribute to avert the imminent Danger, that may threaten them."

His Majesty then address'd himself, after the usual Manner, to the House of *Commons*, on those necessary Articles, *Estimates*, *Augmentations*, and *Supplies*, and concluded with recommending some good *Law* to the Consideration of both Houses, to prevent the Exportation of Corn, and to lose no Time in making some farther Parliamentary Provision for the Manning the Fleet,

All which appear'd so wise, just, and reasonable to our *loyal* Representatives, that in their Address, they not only congratulate his Majesty on his Return to his *Regal Dominions*, tho' he had given them no Notice of his Departure, and overwhelm him with Praises and Acknowledgments, but even anticipate their own Resolutions, and engage to do whatever shall be required of them.

Accordingly, like honest Men, they apply'd themselves, in earnest, to make those Engagements good; for, on the 20th they read the Corn-Bill the first Time, and put a Negative on a Motion for Printing it; on the 24th, order'd it to be read a second Time, on a Division, Ayes 84, Noes 58; and the next Day voted an Address, *Nemine Contradicente*, for an Embargo on all Ships,

fringed with Provisions to be exported to foreign Ports.

But that they were thus manifestly without Doors, with respect to these Measures, the Case was very different without. The Colonies in general, the Sugar Islands in particular, and the Kingdom of Ireland, were greatly alarmed at them; and in the half of the Last, certain very shrewd

Confidants of the Ministry, were of opinion, that the

Some of the most important of which were as follow :

" It is to be considered, Why that Embargo upon *Ireland* was laid upon the whole Trade, to the immense Damage of that Country, notwithstanding the Relaxation of it in some Instances: And whether the doing it in that Way, did not evidently tend to create servile Applications, great Loss of Time and Opportunities, great Dependence upon Men in Power, and, possibly, great Corruption. And whether it is not an Absurdity to suppose the Prerogative sufficient to exercise a general Embargo upon the whole Trade, and insufficient to do it upon a few Branches only."

" It is to be considered, That the Embargo in *Ireland* was laid at a Conjunction above all others fatal; the Rents of that Country being chiefly made during the Slaughter Season, which is in the Months of *October, November, and December.*"

" It is to be considered, Why the Embargo was laid after the *French and Spanish* Fleets were failed; and if necessary at all, why not before."

" It is to be considered, Whether it can be supposed, that the provident Administration of *France and Spain* would have hazarded the Success of so great a Design, and the Loss of so great an Armament, to an Event which they knew to be so much in our Power, as the Embargo upon *Irish Beef*. Whether therefore, it could be reasonably supposed, that this Measure, which has been talked of as so important, could have taken any strong Effect."

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Considerations were made public, first in a Paper which was delivered to the Members of the House of Commons; and afterwards in the *Daily Post*.

But in should be observed, that the Embargo was not intended to be perpetual, but only for a short time.

It is to be considered, Whether any Man can with any Appearance of Reason suggest, That this Embargo could have had any better effect than to occasion some Distress among the French and Spanish Forces, to oblige them to be contented with a more spare and less agreeable Diet, or to be at some greater Expence to procure Provision; and, Whether any Man can be so sanguine to believe, that we shall render them unfit for Action and Service by this Means."

"It is to be considered, Whether, if they are still fit for Action and Service, the Degree of Distress we shall create to them, will be of any Advantage to justify so extraordinary a Measure; and, Whether, when it is rightly understood by the Public, they can think it sufficient to balance the extravagant Loss it will occasion to Ireland, and to our own Colonies."

"It is to be considered, Whose Loss this, in the End, will be; and, Whether it will not be the Loss of England: Since it is demonstrable, That England gets all the Balance of the Trade of Ireland, as appears from hence; That the current Species of Ireland is certainly not augmented for twenty Years past, tho' the Balance of Trade is known to be more than 400,000 *l.* per Annum in her Favour."

"It is to be considered, What was the Practice of this Nation in all our former Wars, and upon what Motives it was, That in the Reign of Charles II. in 1667, when England was at War with Holland, France, and Denmark, at a Period when the Prejudices against Ireland first had Rise, and were most violent, it was resolved by the Council of England, that the Irish should export their Beef and Provisions to the Enemy, in Pursuance of which Resolution a Proclamation from the Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom was then issued to that Purpose."

"It is to be considered likewise, upon what Motives, in the Wars of King William and Queen Anne with France, the

But the only Effect they produced, was to excite such a Spirit of Indignation in the House, against the Person who acknowledged himself to be the Author, that they

the same Indulgence was shewn to *Ireland*, and their Exportation privately encouraged by the Government of *England*, notwithstanding any general Embargoes laid by Act of Parliament."

"It is to be considered, Whether the *Dutch*, the wariest Nation in the World with respect to Commerce, ever thought it advisable to refuse to supply their Enemies with any Commodity whatsoever."

"It is to be considered, now the Scarcity of Grass and Hay is so excessive, what can be done with our Cattle if they are not exported; and whether it be better that they should perish at home, than be sold to our Enemies."

"It is to be considered, Whether Money be not the Sinew of War; and, Whether to deny ourself the Profit of a very advantageous Trade, be a natural Way to prove successful against our Enemies."

"It is to be considered, Whether one of the Calamities of War is not the Interruption of our Commerce."

"Whether to render this greater than it must necessarily be, can deserve the Encomiums which a certain Person and his Adherents bestow upon this Measure."

"Whether one of the most valuable Circumstances of Admiral *Vernor's* glorious demolishing of *Porto Bello*, has not been thought, by all knowing Men, to be the opening of that Coast to our Merchants, and the Means thereby given to supply the *Spanish America* with Commodities of this Country."

"Whether there is any Maxim so solid, and so incapable of being controverted with respect to Trade, as that it ought never to be restrained."

"Whether the eternal Consequence of Restriction in Commerce, has not been the Diversion of it into a new Channel."

committed him to *Newgate*, where he remained from *December 25*, to *January 22*, as likewise his *Printer* to the Custody of the *Serjeant at Arms*, from which he was released, upon his Petition, the *next Day*: But tho' he was dealt with thus gently, the Person who re-printed it, was not only sent to *Newgate*, but continued there till the End of the Session; for no other Reason that has yet appeared, but his Concern in the *Daily Post*, which *Sir W. Yonge* was pleased to represent as a *licentious News-Paper*.

So extremely tender were these worthy *Whigs*, both of the Liberty and Property of the Subject!

What a tender and generous Spirit was in the *Whigs*!

P. S. "It is actually now known, that the *French* have contracted already for an annual Supply of 6000 Tons, or 60000 Barrels of Beef from *Jutland*, at the Rate of 200 wt. per Barrel, which is within 20000 Barrels of the greatest Quantity ever taken by them from *Ireland* in Times of Peace. So that in all Probability an irrecoverable Blow is already given to that Branch of Trade; and they have actually contracted with *Holland* for a farther Quantity."

"Certain Advices are received, that the *French* Fleets are actually in *America*; which may serve sufficiently to evince, that some Persons have boasted too much of their Sagacity in imposing the Embargo: The great, and indeed only plausible Pretence for it, being to prevent their Navigation thither at this critical Conjunction, which it was confidently affirmed it would effect."

"This was foretold at a Time when the Prejudices in Favour of the Embargo were too strong to admit Credit to that Suggestion."

But

But to proceed: On the eighth Day of their Sitting, they granted 40,000 *Stamens*, and in a Fortnight after, with unexampled Generosity, made Provision for an Army of * 46288 effective Men, which, together with Six Thousand *Dories*, and Six Thousand *Jefferies* † already in *British Bay*, were to enable the King to keep due watch and ward over the *Balance of Europe*.

Agreeable to which high Trust, his Majesty took the distressed Queen of *Hungary* into his Royal Protection; and his *Ministers* form'd that heroic Project of avenging her Quarrel, by conquering and dividing the Territories of her unknighly Invader.

* But not without vehement *Debates* and two Divisions viz. In the Committee, Ayes 352, Noes 197. On the Report, Ayes 232, Noes 166.

Note, upon passing the *Mutiny-Bill*, in the House of Lords, the following Protest was enter'd.

" *Dissentient*"

" Because it does not appear to us, That the Forces which are now kept up within this Realm are to be employed to annoy our Enemies Abroad; and we are satisfied, the Affections of the People, to his Majesty and the Protestant Succession are such, that there can be no Occasion for them to keep this Nation in awe.

Abingdon,

Warrington,

Carlisle,

Litchfield,

Aylesford.

† By Treaty with the King of *Sweden*, sign'd May 1740, to be held in *Reading* for the Service of his *Britannic Majesty*, in case the Good of his Kingdoms and Dominions should require that Succour.

But

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But the the Plan of these right sage and equitable Operations, at last shone into Day-light, they were, as yet, cover'd with Clouds and Darkness. In which Situation they continued, when His Majesty ⁸²⁸⁷¹ April 8, came to the House of Peers, and deliver'd the following oraculous Speech:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"At the Opening of this Session, I took Notice to you of the Death of the late Emperor, and of my Resolution to adhere to the Engagements I am under, in order to the maintaining of the *Balance of Power*, and the Liberties of *Europe*, on that important Occasion. The Assurances I received from you, in Return to this Communication, were perfectly agreeable to that Zeal and Vigour, which this Parliament has *always* exerted, in the Support of the Honour and Interest of my Crown and Kingdoms, and of the common Cause."

"The War, which has since broke out, and been carried on, in Part of the *Austrian* Dominions, and the various and *extensive Claims*, which are publicly made on the late Emperor's Succession, are new Events, that require the utmost Care and Attention, as they may involve all *Europe* in a bloody War, and in Consequence,

expose

expose the *Dominions* of such Princes, as shall take Part in Support of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, to imminent and immediate Danger. The *Queen of Hungary* has already made a *Requisition* of the 12,000 Men, expressly stipulated by Treaty; and thereupon I have demanded of the King of **Denmark*, and of the King of *Sweden*, as Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, their respective Bodies of Troops, consisting of 6000 Men each, to be in readiness to march forthwith, to the Assistance of her *Hungarian Majesty*. I am also concerting such farther Measures, as may obviate and disappoint all dangerous Designs and Attempts, that may be forming; and carried on in Favour of any *unjust Pretensions*, to the Prejudice of the House of *Austria*. In this complicated and uncertain State of Things, many incidents may arise, during the Time, when, by Reason of the approaching Conclusion of this Parliament, it may be impossible for me to have your Advice and Assistance, which may make it necessary for me to enter into still larger Expences, for maintaining the *Pragmatic Sanction*. In a Conjunction so critical, I have thought it proper, to lay these important Considerations before you, and to desire the Concurrence of my Parliament.

* Note, His *Danish Majesty* refus'd his Quota; tho' he continued to receive their Pay.

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in enabling me to contribute in the most effectual Manner, to the Support of the Queen of Hungary, the preventing by all reasonable Means the Subversion of the House of Austria, and the maintaining the Liberties and Balance of Power in Europe.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I must recommend it to you, to grant me such a Supply as may be requisite for these Ends; and the just Concern and Readiness which I have constantly found in you, to make all necessary Provisions for the public Good, and our common Security, leave me no Room to doubt of the same good Disposition and Affection in this Instance."

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I am persuaded, I need say no more to recommend these Considerations to you, which so necessarily arise from the present Situation of Affairs: I shall therefore only add, That whatever Expences may be incurred on this Occasion, shall be made in as frugal a Manner as possible; and an Account thereof shall be laid before the next Parliament."

As, according to the old Constitution, the King can do nothing but what is Right, so, according to the New, he can say nothing but

but what is *reasonable*: Thus, when this Speech was reported in the House of Commons, an Address was carry'd without * a Division; in which the following amazing Particulars were permitted to have a Place.

"We

* That great Patriot Mr. P. made a fine Speech upon this Occasion, in which he both oppos'd, and agreed to the Motion; one Part of it was to the following Effect, and therefore deserves to make Part of the Evidence against him at the Last Day.

"Such Conduct, Sir, I would gladly recommend on the present Occasion, on which I should be far from advising a faint, an irresolute, or momentary Assistance, such Supplies as declare Diffidence in our own Strength, or a mean Inclination to please contrary Parties at the same time, to perform our Engagements with the Queen, and continue our Friendship with *France*. It is, in my Opinion, proper to espouse our Ally with the Spirit of a Nation that expects her Decisions to be ratified, that holds the *Balance* of the *World* in her Hand, and can bestow *Conquest* and *Empire* at her Pleasure."

"Yet, Sir, it cannot be denied that many powerful Reasons may be brought against any new Occasion of Expence; nor is it without Horror and Astonishment that any Man, conversant in political Calculations, can consider the enormous Profusion of the National Treasure. In the late dreadful Confusion of the World, when the Ambition of *France* had set half the Nations of the Earth on Flame, when we sent our Armies to the Continent, and fought the general Quarrel of Mankind, we paid during the Reigns of King *William*, and his great Successor, Reigns of which every Summer was distinguished by some important Action, but four Millions Yearly."

"But our Preparations for the present War, in which scarcely a single Ship of War has been taken, or a single Fortress laid in Ruins, have brought upon the Nation an Expence of five Millions. So much more are we now obliged to pay to amuse the weakest, than formerly to subdue the most powerful of our Enemies."

"He

"We cannot but entirely concur with your Majesty in the prudent Measures which your Majesty is pursuing for the Support of the common Cause, and for the Preservation of the Liberties, and the Balance of Power in Europe. We acknowledge your

"He that is scarce able to preserve himself, cannot be expected to assist others; nor is that Money to be granted to *foreign Powers*, which is wanted for the Support of our Fellow-Subjects, who are now languishing with Diseases, which unaccustomed Hardships, and unwholesome Provisions have brought upon them, while we are providing against distant Dangers, and bewailing the Distresses of the House of Austria."

"Let us not add to the Miseries of Famine the Mortifications of Insult and Neglect; let our Countrymen, at least, divide our Care with our Allies: and, while we form Schemes for succouring the Queen of Hungary, let us endeavour to alleviate *nearer Distresses*, and prevent or pacify *domestic Disturbances*."

"If there be any Man whom the Sight of Misery cannot move to Compassion, who can hear the Complaints of Want without Sympathy, and see the *general Calamity* of his Country without employing one Hour on Schemes for its Relief: Let not that Man dare to boast of Integrity, Fidelity, or Honour; let him not presume to recommend the Preservation of our Faith, or Adherence to our Confederates; that *Wretch* can have no *real Regard* to any *moral Obligation*, who has forgotten those first Duties which Nature impresses; nor can he that neglects the *Happiness* of his Country, recommend any *good Action* for a *good Reason*."

"It should be considered, Sir, that we can only be useful to our Allies, and formidable to our Enemies, by being *unanimous* and mutually confident of the good Intentions of each other, and that nothing but a steady Attention to the public Welfare, a constant Readiness to remove Grievances, and an apparent Unwillingness to impose *new Burdens*, can produce that Unanimity."

Z z

Majesty's

Majesty's Wisdom and Resolution, in not suffering yourself to be diverted from steadily persevering in your just Purposes of fulfilling the Engagements, which your Majesty has entered into with the House of *Austria*; and do assure your Majesty, that in Justice, and in Vindication of the Honour and Dignity of the *British Crown*, this House will effectually stand by and support your Majesty against all Insults and Attacks, which any Prince or Power, in Resentment of the just Measures that your Majesty has so wisely taken, shall make upon any of your Majesty's Territories or Dominions, THOUGH NOT BELONGING TO THE CROWN OF GREAT BRITAIN. And we beg Leave farther to assure your Majesty, That in any future Events, which may arise from this uncertain State of Things, and which may make it necessary for your Majesty to enter into still larger Expences, your faithful Commons will enable your Majesty to contribute, in the most effectual Manner, to the Support of the Queen of *Hungary*, to the preventing, by all reasonable Means, the Subversion of the House of *Austria*, and to the maintaining the Pragmatic Sanction, and the Liberties and Balance of *Europe*."

And

And a few Days after, they made a free Gift to his Majesty for the Queen of *Hungary*, of Three Hundred Thousand Pounds; For the further enabling his Majesty in the most effectual manner to support the Queen of *Hungary*, for preventing the Subversion of the House of *Austria*, and for the maintaining the Pragmatic Sanction, and supporting the Liberties and Balance of Power in *Europe*.

Nay, so extensive and unbounded was their Liberality, That when one Mr. *Pepple*, who had been appointed Agent by his Majesty, to the Six new-raisd Independent Companies at *Jamaica*, had gone off with certain Sums belonging to the said Companies, as likewise to a Company at *New Providence*, and another Sum due to the Receiver-General of *Scotland*, amounting in all to near 8800*l*. they undertook to indemnify the Government, and made no Difficulty to place the Loss to the Account of the *Pepple*.

In one Word, the Sum Total of their Grants was 501865*l*. 5*s*. 4*d*. 1*q*. which they made good by a Land Tax of 4*s*. in the Pound.

Sum Total 702381*l*. 10*s*. 10*d*. 2800000

	2800000 00 00
The Malt Tax	700000 00 00
The Salt-Tax, which	
was this Session mort-	
gaged for Seven Years	1200000 00 00
more	
The Sinking Fund	1000000 00 00
Money reserved to be	
disposed of by Parlia-	4434 04 08
ment	
Surplus of the former	39588 10 06
Years Grants	
	4951022 14 10

By which it appears there was a Deficiency of 67,628 5 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ which was left as an additional Load upon the next Year.

Besides all These, certain other Jobs still remain'd to be done. A Doubt had arisen, whether the *Inn-Keepers* were oblig'd to take the Rates appointed in the 26th Section of the Mutiny-Bill for the *Diet* and *Small Beer*, of the Officers and Soldiers, quarter'd upon them by the said Act: and it was held expedient, to procure such an Explanation as shou'd serve by way of *Douceur* to the Army.

Accordingly Mr. Secretary at War, made a Motion for a Clause to remove this Doubt, which he introduc'd with observing,

ing, among other Things, That if this Affair should be left to the Decision of the Law, and that Decision should be given against the Soldiers, it would often be impossible for them to subsist, without having recourse to FORCE, which, upon all such Occasions, as they had Arms in their Hands, they would CERTAINLY make use of, and this might be attended with the most fatal Consequences to the Nation.

But this Consideration neither weigh'd so much with the House as He expected, nor was resented as it ought: The Opposition that was made to the Motion, turn'd chiefly on the Hardships resulting from it to the *Inn-Keepers*; which were urg'd in so strong and lively a Manner, that those in Power were in Danger of losing their Point, by a Resolution, That it should be left to the Option of the said *Inn-Keepers*, whether or not they would diet the Soldiers, at the Rates appointed, provided they should be oblig'd to furnish them with *Small Beer*. But by fixing the *daily* Quantity which each Soldier might insist on at THREE QUARTS, the Scale was again turn'd in Favour of the Soldier, and the *Inn-Keeper* was oblig'd either to submit to the good Pleasure of his Guests, or pay a Fine for his Refusal.

Z z 3

But

But while this tender Concern was taken of the Soldiery, a * Bill was brought in, with the plausible Title of an *Act for the Encouragement and Increase of Seamen, and for the better and speedier Manning his Majesty's Fleet*; which, in the first Clause, propos'd the settling a certain annual Pension to all such Seamen as should be disabled in the Service, till provided for in *Greenwich-Hospital*; and in the second, the giving a Years Wages to the Widow of every Seaman who should be kill'd or drown'd in the Service. Both which were excepted to, as containing no proper Encouragement for Seamen. Upon this Subject it was said, That few common Seamen gave themselves much Trouble about Futurity, or thought of laying up a Provision for old Age; and that therefore a present Reward would be thought a greater Encouragement by most Seamen, and would be less burthensome to the Nation. Moreover, it was said, That by a Practice too frequent in the Navy, it would be very easy to defeat the Seamen of this or any other Reward that could be promised them, upon their entering voluntarily into his Majesty's Service; because it was then

* See a Copy thereof in the *Annals of Europe*, for 1741.

very

very usual, and had been so for many Years, among some of the Officers in the Navy, to reject a Seaman as not fit for his Majesty's Service, when he came voluntarily to offer himself, and, in a few Days after, to approve of him as a good Seaman, if he happened to be pressed into the Service; for which Practice no Reason could be assigned, but that of the Lieutenant's having a small Bounty for every Man he pressed; whereas he had nothing for Volunteers. This, it was insisted, was a Practice then frequent in the Navy, and therefore the Clause ought not only to be altered with Regard to the Encouragement or Reward proposed, but also some Words ought to be added, for preventing this Practice for the future. Upon this Subject there was a pretty long Debate, which occasioned the Clause to be post-poned; and, next Day, that Clause was offered in its Stead, which now stands the first in the Act; but though a Clause for preventing the Practice above-mentioned was offer'd upon the third Reading, and though in the Debate, the Practice was offered to be fully proved, in case a Committee should be appointed for that Purpose, yet no such Clause was inserted in the Bill.

Z z 4

But

But the chief Debate in this Committee, was upon the 3d, 4th, 5th and 6th Clauses of the Bill relating to a GENERAL SEARCH. Against which, and a Power annex'd to it, to break open any Persons Doors by Night or Day, it was said, That it would render the Property of every Man in the Kingdom unsafe, and was absolutely inconsistent with our Constitution: Nay, That it would endanger the Lives of many of his Majesty's Subjects, and would be a Sort of Trap which Gentlemen of Figure and Fortune could hardly avoid falling into, especially those who happened not to be in the good Graces of a Minister; for such Gentlemen would have Constables and Press-Gangs frequently sent to search their Houses in the Middle of the Night, and this no Gentleman of any Spirit would submit to: He would certainly refuse, it was said, to open his Doors at that Time of Night, and if the Constable and his Press-Gang attempted to break them open, he would order his Servants to fire upon them; the Consequence of which would be, That the Gentleman would either be murdered in the Fray, or afterwards hanged for killing the Constable or some of his Press-Gang.

On

On the other Side, it was said, That this was but an Imaginary Fear, because the Power of making a generall Search was a Power that had been long established; and often exercised in the Case of Vagabonds; That not only in that Case, but also in the Case of Searching for Felons, and for stolen or run Goods, the Constables had a Power often granted to break open Doors, if Admittance, when demanded, should be refused; and yet no Inconvenience had ever yet happened; nor had it ever appeared, that this Power was inconsistent with our Constitution; or that any Man had suffered in his Property by the Exercise of it. And farther, it was said, That in the late Queen's Reign, such a Bill as this was brought in, and actually passed into a Law, when there was an Administration that had as great a Regard for the Liberties and Properties of their Fellow-Subjects as ever any Set of Ministers had; and tho' that Law continued in Force for a Twelvemonth; during which Time, all the Powers now proposed were exercised, yet no Inconvenience ensued, nor was there the least Complaint against the Officers or Constables then employed to search for, and apprehend absconding Seamen. And, finally, That there was a very great Deficiency, and a great Want of Seamen

ness for manning his Majesty's Navy; and therefore we were under an absolute Necessity to endeavour to supply that Defect, either by the Methods proposed by that Bill, or by some other Methods; and, if any other better Method could be thought of, they were ready to approve of them, and to give up what was then proposed.

To this it was answered, That, if there was any great Want of Seamen for manning his Majesty's Navy, it was owing to our ill Treatment of Seamen for several Years past, and to the Misconduct of our Ministers at the Beginning of the War; But suppose this Want to be greater than it really was, there were several other Methods which might be taken for supplying that Want, and therefore, we were not brought to such a Degree of Necessity, as to be forced to endanger our Constitution for the Sake of manning our Navy. That the Method proposed by that Bill was not only dangerous to our Constitution, but had, by Experience, been found ineffectual; which was the true Reason of the Law's not being continued, which had passed in the late Queen's Time, as appeared by the Accounts then upon their Table. That they were sorry to hear our Seamen, a Body of Men that have done great Honour

nour as well as great Service to their Country, put upon the same Footing with Vagabonds, Smugglers, and Thieves; but even against these Pests of Society, the Remedies established by Law were not so dangerous as the Remedy proposed by that Bill against absconding Seamen; for as to Thieves, Felons, or Run Goods, there was no such Thing as a general Search, nor could any Man's House be searched for them, unless upon Affidavit, that there was good Ground to suspect his having Felons, or Run Goods concealed in his House; and as to the general privy Search appointed by Act of Parliament for Vagabonds, no House had ever been searched, nor could any House be legally searched by Virtue of that Act, unless it was a House of ill Fame in the Neighbourhood, which was a Restraint introduced by Reason and Custom upon the Powers granted to the Justice by that Act; whereas no such Restraint could be introduced upon the Powers proposed to be granted by the Bill then before them; because a Man of the best Reputation, nay, a Family of the first Rank, might conceal a Seaman, not with a Design to withdraw him altogether from the Government's Service, but with a Design to conceal him till he should have an Opportunity to recover

cover from the Fatigues of a long Voyage, to settle his domestic Affairs, or to find a Captain to his liking, with whom he might enter as a Volunteer. To this it was added, That as the Law, when formerly established, had been found ineffectual for the End publicly professed, and as there was another End, viz. That of influencing Elections, and oppressing those who opposed ministerial Candidates, which it might be made to serve, there was great Reason to suspect, That the latter was the only End proposed, and that therefore, every Man who had a Regard for the Liberties of his Country, ought to be jealous of having such a Bill passed into a Law. The Question was however carried, That these Clauses should stand Part of the Bill.

There was yet a farther Debate upon the 7th, and following Clauses, against which it was said, That it obliged the Constables to become Informers against themselves, and to answer upon Oath in a Case, where they must perhaps either be guilty of Perjury, or subject themselves to Penalties; and against the 11th, it was objected, That it put all Seamen, not in the Government's Service, in the Case of Outlaws and Traitors; for no Man could know whether
a Sea-

Parliaments of England. 697

a Seaman was an absconding Seaman or no; and therefore no Man could with Safety give a Seaman at Land either Meat, Drink, or Lodging; and besides, it was a Clause which no Inn-keeper or Victualler, nor any one that lets Lodgings, could guard against; for when they harboured a Stranger, they could not know, whether he was a Seaman or no, and therefore might subject themselves to Penalties, without being conscious of their having committed any Offence. These Clauses were therefore strenuously opposed; but upon the Question's being put, whether they should stand Part of the Bill, it was carried in the Affirmative by 154 Ayes to 115 Noes.

However, as Petitions were preparing to be sent up from all Parts of the Country against the Bill, and as it was like to occasion a general Discontent among the People, the principal Advocates for it resolved to give up, upon the Report, all those Clauses in it relating to the Search, that is to say, from the 3d to the 13th, both inclusive; and next Day, viz. upon the 10th, they declared this their Resolution in the House; after which Sir Charles Wager offered to the House the Clause for limiting Sailors Wages in the Merchants Service,

Service, which now stands last but one in the Act; and, after opening the Nature of the Clause, he moved for Leave to bring it up; which being opposed, after some Debate, the Question was put, which was carried in the Affirmative by 143 *Ayes*, to 92 *Noes*; and then the Clause being brought up and read, there ensued a long Debate, in which it was insisted, That the Clause would not only be inconvenient and dangerous to our Merchants and Trade, but was in itself impracticable; for the Price of Labour in all Sorts of Business so absolutely depended upon the Proportion between the Number of Labourers wanted, and the Number who desired to be employed, that it was impossible to fix or limit the Price of Labour in any one Sort of Business, as had been found by Experience with Regard to several Laws made for that Purpose; and that therefore the Clause offered could serve for nothing but to distress our Merchants and Masters of Ships, and to render them liable to Penalties and Prosecutions, which they could no Way avoid, but by giving over all Trade and Navigation.

The Question being at last put, the Clause was agreed to, and the Committee having thus gone through the Bill, the
Report

Report was ordered to be received upon the *Friday* following, being the 3rd of *March*, upon which Day, a Petition of the Merchants and Traders of the City of *London*, was presented to the House and read; setting forth their Apprehensions, that the said Bill would be highly detrimental to Trade and Navigation, and praying to be heard by their Council against it, which was order'd to lye upon the Table, and another of the same Tendency from the County of *Gloucester* was rejected.

And then the House proceeded, according to Order, to take into Consideration the Report from the Committee upon the said Bill, when the Amendment made to the first Clause was agreed to, and the other Clauses I have mentioned were all left out; but when the Clause added by the Committee for limiting Sailors Wages in the Merchant Service was read the first Time, a Motion was made for adjourning the farther Consideration of the said Report till *Monday*, in Order that the Merchants and Traders of *London* might be heard upon their Petition; because those Merchants might then offer something to the House, that might render their agreeing to such an inconvenient Clause unnecessary, and might be
more

more effectual for the Encouragement and Increase of Seamen, than any Thing proposed by that Bill: To this it was answered, That as the Bill had been long before the House, if the Merchants could offer any Thing for the Encouragement or Increase of Seamen, they might at least have given a Hint of it to some of their Friends in the House, and since they had not, it was to be supposed their Petition was presented, not with a View to offer any Remedy, but to delay and throw Difficulties in the Way of a Bill, which ought to be passed with the utmost Expedition; therefore, upon the Question's being put for adjourning, it passed in the Negative, by 196 Noes to 142 Ayes; and the House then proceeding, the said Clause was read a second Time, and with some Amendments agreed to: after which the last Clause, as it now stands in the Act, was added, and the Bill with the Amendments was ordered to be ingrossed; and on the 23d of March, the Bill was read a 3d Time, and passed, upon a Division of 153 Ayes, to 79 Noes.

Having thus touch'd upon the most material *Acquisitions* of the Court, let us ~~now take a View of the Attempts~~ of the Opposition.

De-

December 11th, a Motion was made, That there might be laid before that House, an Account of the Numbers of Horse, Dragoons, and Foot, that were in *Ireland*, for the Years 1738, and 1739, and the Charge thereof, and the estimated Numbers, and Charge for the Year 1740; distinguishing each Year. But, after Debate, it was carried in the Negative.

December 12th, It was resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*, That an humble Address should be presented to his Majesty, That, for the present and future Estate of his Majesty's Subjects, he would be graciously pleased to employ, in the Army, such Persons as then remained upon Half-pay, who were qualified to serve his Majesty. Which Address being presented his Majesty upon the *Monday* following, he returned, by-Mr. Comptroller, this Answer:

I shall always have a due Regard for my Half-pay Officers, and employ such of them as are PROPERLY qualified for the Service.

* Though this Motion was agreed to *nem. con.* yet it was not without some De-

* See *Annals of Europe.*

bare; for Mr *Sandys*, at first moved, for an Address, That, for the present and future Ease of his Majesty's Subjects, he would be graciously pleased to employ in the Army, all such Persons as then remained upon Half pay.

To which Motion Sir *William Younge* objected, That it was unnecessary, because his Majesty had already resolved to do so; and farther, That the Motion, in the Terms it was proposed, was absurd; for his Majesty could not employ in the Army all the Half-pay Officers; because many of them were grown so old and infirm as not to be fit for his Majesty's Service, many were unwilling to enter again into the Service, and some did not deserve to be ever employed in any Service under his Majesty. To this it was answered, That whatever might be his Majesty's Resolution in that or any other Case, they were not to take it from any Member of that House, as a Reason for their not Addressing; because his Majesty's Resolution could only be declared to them by Way of Answer to their Address, and by express Authority from his Majesty; and whatever might be the Resolution as to the future, it was certain that this Resolution had either never been taken, or had not been steadily pursued

sued in Times past, as appeared by the great Number of Officers still remaining upon Half-pay. And as to the Absurdity of the Motion, it arose from taking the Word, *all*, in a more extensive Sense than was intended, or the Sense of the preceding Words would admit of; for when they addressed his Majesty to employ, in the Army, all Half-pay Officers, they could mean by the Word, *all*, none but such as were capable of that Employment. As for most of those that were fit, but unwilling to serve, their Unwillingness proceeded from the Injustice that had been done them, by preferring Men of no Service, or of inferior Rank, whilst they remained an useless Charge upon their Country; which Injustice had been so long continu'd, and so often repeated, that many of those brave, old Officers, if they should now again come into the Service, would of Course be under the Command, perhaps of Strplings, who were not born when they first entered upon Half pay. As to such Men, it would be hard to desire them to serve, without restoring them to their due Rank in the Army; but if there were any others unwilling to serve, they ought to be compelled under the Pain of losing their Half-pay; and if there were any upon Half-pay, who did not deserve to be employed

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ployed in any Post under his Majesty, they did not surely deserve to be continued upon Half-pay; but this was a Case which no Minister ought to judge of. At last, Sir *Robert Walpole* proposed to amend the Question, by leaving out the Word, *all*, and adding the Words, *who were properly qualified to serve his Majesty*; but the Word, *properly*, was objected to by Sir *John Barnard*, as being an improper Addition to qualified; because every Man that is qualified must be properly qualified, there being no such Expression in the *English* Language, as a Man's being improperly qualified; upon this, the Word, *properly*, was left out, and the Motion thus amended was agreed to. However, we find the Word, *properly*, was inserted in his Majesty's Answer, which some looked on as a Piece of Vanity in the Minister, to shew the Influence he had upon the Councils of his Master.

February 3, Mr *Sandys* made a Motion for an Address, That his Majesty would be graciously pleased to give Directions, That the House might be informed, *when* his Majesty, or the Lords Justices, first received certain Advices of the *Ferrol* Squadron being sailed from that Port, and of the *Brest* and *Toulon* Squadrons being sailed for the *West Indies*. But it being insinuated, That
neither

neither his Majesty, nor the Lords Justices, had any *Advice* relating to these Squadrons, but what came by the common Conveyance of Ships that they met or saw, the Majority held it a sufficient Reason to authorize a Negative.

But not being disheartened with his ill Success, the same Gentleman stood up again, and moved for another Address, for Copies or Extracts of all Letters, which had been received from, or written to, Vice-Admiral *Vernon*, from the Time of his going to the *West Indies*, by either of the principal Secretaries of State. This likewise, it seems, was too much to be comply'd with; and therefore Mr *Pelham*, propos'd to add the following qualifying Words by way of Amendment, *so far as the same related to a Supply of Ships, Marines, or Land Forces.*

This occasioned a Debate, and upon the Question's being put for agreeing to the Amendment, it was carried in the Affirmative; after which the Motion thus amended was agreed to without Opposition.

But tho' his Majesty caus'd the House to be acquainted, That he would give Directions, as desir'd; it is very remarkable those Directions were never complied with, so far as I can find; for it is not to be supposed, they were never given;

1701

A a a 3

nor

nor is it to be supposed, That the Letters could not be got ready, because the same Motion had been agreed to in the House of Lords on the *first Day of December*.

Another Address having been agreed upon, and presented, That his Majesty would be graciously pleased, as soon as conveniently might be, to settle a Cartel with *Spain*, for the Exchange of Prisoners taken in War. His Majesty acquainted the House, That he would give Directions accordingly; which Answer surprised some People, because they expected to have been acquainted, That a Cartel had been already settled; and the Merchants complained, That the settling of it had been so long neglected, in order to discourage our Seamen from entering into or continuing in their Service; and because in a War with *Spain* there was no Danger, that any of the Seamen belonging to our Navy should be taken by the Enemy.

I shall now close this Discourse with the famous Motion made by Mr *Sandys* upon *† Feb. 13*, for an Address, That his Majesty would

† The same Day a Motion of the like Nature was made by my Lord *Cartier* in the other House, where it met with the like Success: upon which Occasion, the following Branch was

would be graciously pleas'd to remove Sir Robert Walpole from his Presence and Councils for ever.

A. a. a. 4

Upon

was enter'd, to convince Posterity that this Step was not taken without sufficient Cause.

" *Dissentient*."

" 1. Because we are persuaded that a *sole*, or even a *first Minister*, is an Officer unknown to the Law of Britain, inconsistent with the Constitution of this Country, and destructive of Liberty in any Government whatsoever; and it plainly appearing to us, that Sir Robert Walpole has, for many Years, acted as such, by taking upon himself the *chief*, if not the *sole* Direction of Affairs, in the different Branches of the Administration, we could not but esteem it to be our indispensable Duty, to offer our most humble Advice to His Majesty, for the Removal of a Minister so dangerous to the King and the Kingdoms."

" 2. Because we think it appeared in the Debate, that in many Instances, of infinite Consequence to the Interest of the Public, he has grossly abused the *exorbitant Power*, which he *illegally* possessed himself of, particularly in the Management of the public Treasure. And this, we conceive, must plainly appear to every Impartial Person who recollects, That, for these twenty Years past, this Kingdom has paid the largest Taxes that ever were imposed upon it in the Time of Peace; and yet that the public Debts remain much as they stood at the Time when this Gentleman first entered upon the Management of the Treasury; and that the Civil List also, the largest that was ever granted to the Crown, is, as we have the strongest Reasons to believe, considerably in Debt at this Time.

" 3. Because we conceive it was plainly proved in former Debates, that the Army, so greatly expensive to this Kingdom, and which only was granted by Parliament for the Defence of it, had been managed, both as to *Rewards* and *Punishments*, in such Manner as to make it of no *military Use*, but on the contrary, to render it subservient, as we apprehend, to the very worst

Upon which remarkable Occurrence, I need only observe, that whoever reflects, that this great Man had been the first, if not the first Model of our Political System, independent on the influence and interests from

worship of Purposes, the influencing Elections without Doors, and Favors within."

"4. Because we are persuaded, that the vast Sum of Money, granted on different Heads for Sea-Service, cannot possibly have been faithfully applied; there having been as much Money granted by Parliament in the last Six or Seven Years, upon the several Heads applicable to the repairing and rebuilding our Ships, as would have been sufficient to re-build the whole Fleet of Britain from the Keels of the Ships, and have put them, thoroughly equipped, to Sea. And yet it is most undeniably true, that since this War began, a very great Number of Ships have appeared to be in the worst Condition for Sea-Service that ever were known to be in the Memory of Man, and many of them scarcely fit for Spithead Expeditions; Ships having sailed out of the River, destined, as was pretended, for foreign Service, that have with Difficulty been able to swim into the Docks of Portsmouth or Plymouth for further Repairs."

"5. Because we apprehend, that by the Conduct of Sir Robert Walpole, in Relation to foreign Affairs, during the Course of his Administration, the Balance of Power in Europe has been destroyed; the House of Bourbon has been aggrandized in many Instances, particularly by the Addition of Savoy; the House of Austria has been depressed by the loss of Parts of the Duchy of Milan, and the whole Kingdom of Naples and Sicily; and if such a Change in the System of Europe, occasioned by the Misconduct of any Minister whatsoever, would be criminal, we cannot think it the less so in one who joined in the Prosecution of the Articles of the Treaty of Utrecht, upon the particular Charge of having betrayed the House of Austria too late, and left the House of Bourbon too powerful."

Parliament of England. 8709

from the Year 1711; will certainly be a Loss
to the Nation for *Edwards* or *Reynolds* do vigo in his
Justification good had not said and said
that *Edwards* or *Reynolds* who pass in
and after the first Session of the subsequent
Parliament, will be a perfect Master of all
the *Motives*, which actuated that great Pa-
triot and his greater Friend, who were the
principal Agents, in setting it on Foot

And that whoever hath a due Sense of
the uniform Conduct of the Majority in every
Session, and every Parliament since the Ac-
cession, will be sufficiently able to account
for the *Event*. Which every body knows
was

6. Because it is a Fact not to be contradicted, that the
Spaniards were permitted quietly to possess themselves of
the Land belonging to our most important Fortress of *Gibraltar*,
which this Kingdom was in Possession of, by Virtue of
the Treaty of *Utrecht*, till the last Siege of that Place, by
which Permission Fortifications were erected, and Batteries
raised upon the said Ground by the *Spaniards*, whereby the
Use of the advantageous Bay of *Gibraltar* is lost to England,
and our Ships ever since forced to anchor both inconveniently
and dangerously under the Walls of the Town, and what
naturally raised the strongest Suspensions in us of this unwar-
rable Proceeding, is, that a *British* Admiral, soon after,
was attacked with a powerful Squadron of Ships of the Line,
at the Time the *Spaniards* thus unjustly broke their Treaty,
and that Admiral quietly and unadvisedly left them in Posses-
sion of the Ground, and conveyed their Troops to take Pos-
session of the *Dock* and *Harbour* of *Algeciras*.

7. Because the Papers upon our Table, delivered to this
House from the Commissioners of the Customs, do plainly
prove,

was a thundering Negative: 106, only dividing for the Motion, and no less than 290 against it.

As rather *too much* Attention is paid to the gracious Speeches of our Sovereigns at the Time, when they are made, so they are rather *too little* regarded afterwards.

They are indeed, the very Pulse of the Government; and almost always indicate more than they express.

Let this account for the frequent Use which hath been made of them already;

prove, that Sir Robert Walpole, by publicly conniving for many Years, at the Trade carried on with this Nation from the Port of *Dunkirk*, has given up the 9th Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, which we cannot but look upon as a high Misdemeanour; and the greater Crime in him, as no Man what-soever declared himself with more *passionate* Zeal than he did, against the Authors of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, for having favoured *France* in most of the Articles of that Treaty; in Consequence of which Behaviour, it became peculiar his Duty to preserve inviolably those Articles in it, which were incontestably stipulated for the Interest of this Crown and Nation."

Briderwater,
Westmoreland,
Macclesfield,
Litchfield,
Halifax,
R. Litch. and
Coventry,
Talbot,
Buccleugh,
Bruce,
Mansel,

Cobham,
Clinton,
Denbigh,
Falmouth,
R. Lincoln,
Berkshire,
Aylesford,
Beaufort,
Carlisle,
Batbush,
Ames,

Haverham,
Abingdon,
St. John de Bletsoe,
Ward,
Greenwich,
Gower,
Chesterfield,
Bristol,
Bedford,
Hareford.

The Contents were 59, not Contents. 108.

and

and whoever thoroughly considers that which follows, (with which his Majesty took Leave of this Parliament, *April 25*) will be sensible, I hope, that I have Reason on my Side.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“The Zeal and Dispatch, with which you have gone through the public Business, during the Course of this Session, are *undeniable Proofs* of your steady Regard to the Welfare of your Country, and consequently the most acceptable Testimonies of your Duty and Affection to me. The powerful Assistance, which you have given me, for carrying on the *just and necessary War*, in which I am engaged, is the best Means of reducing our Enemies to Reason: And the Vigour and Earnestness, which you have so seasonably shewn for the *Defence* of the House of *Austria*, and the *Maintenance* of the Balance and *Liberties* of *Europe*, must give the greatest Encouragement to our Friends. These are the Methods, to secure to this Nation that *Weight* and *Influence* Abroad, which its natural Strength and Situation entitle it to.”

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“It is with particular Satisfaction, I acknowledge your Readiness and Application in raising the *SUPPLIES* for the Service of the

the current Year; which you have done with so just a Regard to the present *Exigencies* of the Public, as shews you to be the *true Representatives* of my faithful Commons."

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I cannot part with this Parliament without publicly returning you my Thanks, for the many eminent Instances you have given me of your Fidelity and Affection to my Person and Government, your fixed Resolution to maintain the Protestant Succession in my Family, and your *unshaken Adherence* to the *true Interest* of your Country. You have with the most becoming Spirit and Firmness, exerted yourselves in vindicating and defending the Honour of my Crown, and the undoubted Rights of Navigation and Commerce, belonging to my Subjects, and enabled me to revenge those Wrongs and Insults, which, contrary to the Faith of Treaties, had been committed against both. In so critical a Conjunction, you have supported the national Credit, and *strengthened the Hands of my Government, to a Degree exceeding the Expectations* of those who wished well to us, and to the *manifest Disappointment* of such as *envied our Prosperity*. At the same Time, you

you have demonstrated to all the World, That *Great Britain* is in a Condition, not only to defend herself, but also to afford a *due Support* to her Allies, and the common Cause of *Europe*. As such a Conduct must give a lasting Reputation to this Parliament, so it will be the Subject of *Emulation* to those, which shall come after it.

“ I will immediately give the necessary Orders for calling a new Parliament. There is not any Thing I set so high a Value upon, as the *Love and Affection* of my People; in which I have so *entire a Confidence*, That it is with great Satisfaction I see this Opportunity put into their Hands, of giving me *fresh Proofs* of it, in the *Choice* of their *Representatives*.”

“ On the present Establishment depends the Continuance of our excellent Constitution in Church and State: And in *this Constitution* consists the *Security* of the present *Establishment*: Nothing can hurt the one, that will not in Proportion, undermine and weaken the other. For my Part, the *uniform Preservation* of both, and the *Maintenance* of the religious and *civil Rights* of all my Subjects, have been, and ever shall be my constant Care. Those who *distinguish* themselves by *persevering* in these Principles,

ciples, shall always find my Countenance and Favour; and by invariably pursuing these wise and honest Measures, we may entertain the best grounded Hopes, that, under the Protection of the divine Providence, the Happiness of *Great Britain* will be perpetuated to Posterity."

And now (to make hold with a Pulpit-Phrase) for a few Words, by Way of Use and Application.

Every Body knows, That the ancient Dread of this Nation, was of the Prerogative: Lest our Princes should, like those of *France*, grow weary of Parliaments, and resolve to govern by *Will and Pleasure*.

Every Body knows, likewise, That the Reason of our tender Concern for, and Attachment to, Parliaments, was a long established Persuasion, That by their Assistance, our Grievances would always be redress'd; That, under their Umbrage, our Liberties would always be safe.

But even our very Princes were, originally and constitutionally, no more than the *Guardians* of those Liberties; and if they could be capable of *Breach of Trust*, might not our Parliaments likewise deviate into the same crooked Road?

If, therefore those Princes, on Conviction, That it was not only a vain, but a desperate

rate Undertaking to ~~wrestle~~ with Parliaments, should find it ~~expedient~~ to compromise the Affair with them; and agree to divide the Common-wealth, between them, would not Parliaments themselves become a Grievance? Would not our Representatives become our Masters? Would not their Constituents become their Slaves?

Thus, if the Governing without a Parliament was justly the Object of our Terror, If the Governing with a Parliament, was as justly, the Object of our Wishes,

The Governing by a Parliament would be an infallible Method, not only to compass, but give a Sanction to our Ruin.

With Regard to the first of these Governments, our Terrors have, long slumber'd: For while we so *freely give*, why should the Sovereign take?

And with Regard to the Last — *Hinc ille Lachrymae* —

We have, in these Papers, Proof to Demonstration, That, from a certain Period, our Parliaments have done what they should have left undone, and have left undone what they should have done: That to the Calls of the Crown they have always answer'd; That to the Cries of the People they have been always deaf; That they have purchas'd on one Hand, only to sell

sell on the ~~other~~; That they have us'd their Privileges in Complement to the Prerogative, and put them to the Stretch to oppress and subdue the Subject; That, instead of redressing Grievances, they have authoriz'd them; That, instead of prosecuting Malefactors, they have skreen'd them. And, That, instead of protecting and defending the Rights of their Constituents, they have perfidiously betray'd them.

Hence it is manifest, That the Constitution is every where undermin'd; and at the first Sound of the Trumpet, like the Walls of *Jericho*, it will sink at once, into a Heap of Ruins.

In vain do we amuse ourselves with the Hope, That some future Parliament will rectify the Evils committed, or conniv'd at, by the pass'd.

Had we any Chance of working out our own Salvation, as it hath been once already observ'd, 'tis more than probable we should not be trusted with the Opportunity.

By the same Violence that one Parliament, chosen but for *Three Years*, could prolong their own Sitting for *Seven*, any other may presume to render themselves perpetual.

Experience shews us, That the Writ of Election to a *Borough*, and the *Compte d'Elire* to a *Dean and Chapter*, already operate in pretty much the same Manner:
That

That those in Power are always sure of finding, or making a Majority in both Houses— That the Dictates of the Privy-Council or first Minister are uniformly receiv'd by that Majority, as Laws; That the grand Secret of G——t is to fleece with one Hand, and corrupt with the other; and that the sole Relic of the PEOPLE'S POWER is the glorious Privilege, to sell themselves as often as they are favour'd with *Leave* to make a new Election.

So fatally true is the Maxim of that great Statesman, *Barleigh*, *That England could never be undone but by a Parliament!*

In a Word, so great is the Influence of the Crown become, so servile the Spirit of our Grandees, and so deprav'd the Hearts of the People, that Hope itself begins to Sicken; and those who are dispos'd to go farthest in the Cause of the Common-wealth, are on the Point of crying out,

If the People will be enslav'd, let them be enslav'd!

Let it then be recollected, in this our Day, That even the Authority of Parliaments has a Bound: That they are not empower'd to sell, but to serve their Constituents: That whoever accepts of a Trust is answerable for the Exercise of it: That if the House of Commons should make ever so solemn a Surrender of the Public Liber-

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ties into any Hand whatever, That Surrender would be *ipso Facto* void: That if the People have Reason to apprehend any such Conspiracy against them, they have a Right not only to put in their Protest, but to renounce the Deed, and refuse Obedience: That in such a Case the Delegation they had made would be dissolv'd:

That, consequently, all Authority would return into the Hands of those who gave it; and with one united Voice they might call on the Prerogative to do them Justice, by dismissing such unfaithful Servants, and enabling them to make a new Choice. Which God of his infinite Mercy grant.

F I N I S.

